THE HOUSEHOLD OF GOD

C. C. MARTINDALE

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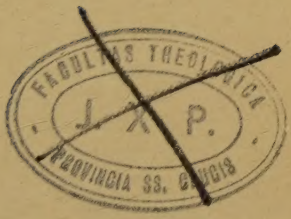

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PRINCES OF HIS PEOPLE

II

ST PAUL

WITHDRAWN

BY

C. C. MARTINDALE, S.J.

AUTHOR OF
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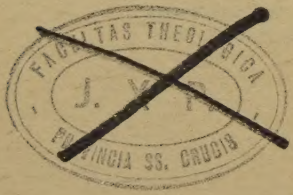
(i) THE GOSPEL; (ii) THE APOCALYPSE, ETC.



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WITH GRATITUDE

FOR SILENT HOURS AT

RYE

(WHERE THIS BEGAN TO BE WRITTEN)

AND FOR

THE LONG HELP OF A LOYAL FRIENDSHIP

PREFACE

It cannot be said, I fear, that the letters of St Paul are much read in England, even by Catholics, save among professional theologians. This is no doubt due chiefly to the extreme difficulty of making out what those letters mean. To understand them demands considerable preparation. No one would expect to make much of the letters of Cicero or Pliny without a good deal of information previously acquired about the Republic or the Empire, about legal institutions or social conventions, and even slang. But Cicero and Pliny are simplicity itself compared to St Paul. To start with, they represent a fairly straightforward state of society and of civilization; whereas in Paul the Greek and the Roman, the ancient and the contemporary Hebrew, and even the Asiatic meet, jostle, and seldom fuse. Cicero and Pliny wrote a Latin that can be translated without much difficulty into decent English; St Paul can, not rarely, be no more than paraphrased. Those Latin writers had, moreover, ideas which their language was quite able to express; St Paul practically had to create a language in order to enable himself to tell what his thoughts were—thoughts unfamiliar to the world at large, and even to its intellectual *élite*, because they belonged to a new

revelation, a new mental scheme, a super-mental scheme, altogether. His temperament, too, made him write as never would the placid Pliny, or the cultured Cicero, suave and often pompous even though so emotional. Finally, we are accustomed to hear fragments of St Paul's epistles read at Mass on Sundays, fragments torn from their context, chips of arguments, splinters of paragraphs, passages that not only sound unintelligible, but actually are so unless you can mentally supply the sentences that precede and follow them. And for many other reasons I think the average Catholic usually gives up St Paul in despair.

It is to help, even a little, towards correcting this—for that inspired Scripture should be altogether left out of our spiritual reading is sheer disaster—that the following chapters have been written.

And this accounts, too, in part for the translations from the Greek itself. We now possess, indeed, in the Westminster Version, a translation that is clear and dignified, and also tells us what St Paul wrote. It is because this can easily be referred to that the translations in this book are not always so verbally accurate as an austere scholarship would rightly demand. Certainly I hold in abhorrence the impertinence of versions that give St Paul in modern colloquial "equivalents." Yet to extract from St Paul his full meaning, it is not always possible to use so few words as he does. His participial clauses, his compound words, for example, simply must be paraphrased if the translation is to be adequate, and yet not to pull the reader up with a jerk. It is true that

in this way something of the charm of the consecrated phraseology may be lost; but that very charm may have become so habitual to our ears, that it acts soporifically, and we do not hear what we are listening to. Or again, as I said, the customary phrase is *not* charming, but an irritating dialect, used, we feel, by Paul, but by no imaginable person else, and it goes jarring by us and gives us no chance of asking what it means. So I have tried to use words which should express properly what St Paul meant, with as little shock to our modern preferences as possible, and yet without over-familiarity.

Outside of the translations I have tried further to explain what Paul meant. We have, now, many useful books on St Paul. The Westminster Version itself has notes; but these are very severe and leave no room to decoration, and sometimes are very learned, and at others omit what the author thinks should be known by a student. Fr. Rickaby's *Notes on St Paul* are again, perhaps, for a class of students who would feel no desire to use this simple little book. To begin with, to appreciate Fr. Rickaby one ought to know Greek, while here there will be next to no Greek. There are, too, Fr. Callan's books and Dr. Coghlan's, and others, which, if I do not name them, I must not be thought to under-estimate. In French there are of course the superb work of Fr. Prat (Beauchesne), and Fr. Lagrange's *Romans* and *Galatians*, and numerous articles in the *Revue Biblique* and elsewhere, that I use so constantly as to be quite unable to acknowledge them on every occa-

sion. And there are the works of Sir W. M. Ramsay, full of delightful erudition. But none of these quite fulfils my very modest ambition for this small book, which I want to help ordinary people, who are not scholars, and who are not even, thank God, reading about St Paul in order to pass an examination on him. Examinees would be wise not to rely exclusively upon it! Indeed, apart from a few footnotes, I propose seldom enough to back up the conclusions to which, all the same, I feel myself justified in having come. I trust none of them are hazardous; when they are not certain, I shall most assuredly give due warning.

But, after all, it is in the series *The Household of God* that this little book is to appear. Therefore it wants to make St Paul visible not as a set of ideas only, but as a man thinking and preaching them. A man, doubtless a most extraordinary one, one of a very small group among the men of history indeed, and yet a most human and tragic and glorious and lovable one. Alas, that we have but a few fragments of his correspondence, and a few facts about his life set down by a friend of his, to go upon! Still, that correspondence, and that—now diary, now material, so to say, for some future biography—are inspired by God's Spirit, and at least, what they tell cannot in itself mislead us. As usual, then, this book is not a theological treatise, not a commentary, and not a biography, but something much more humble than any of these, for which I shall not even try to find a label. But I just hope that people who find spiritual reading

rather difficult, and the Scriptures particularly so, and St Paul most difficult of all, will gain a little help from these pages, and be moved to ask him for some of his own spirit.

C. C. M.

Oxford.

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ST PAUL

I

THE STONING OF STEPHEN

After our Lord's death his friends disappeared. For a few days they lay hid behind locked doors, stunned, first by misery, then by bewildered joy. Then they went away to Galilee, lost among the swarms of pilgrims on their way home to the north. After a space they stole back once more, still dreaming of some restoration of a kingdom to their people at the hands of Jesus. But Jesus passed from this world, and they returned to their silent waiting, along with her who was thus entering upon her second motherhood.

Outside, the city lived its noisy, vivid, squalid life: the bazaars wrangled over bargains; Pilate policed the streets as best he might; the Roman soldiers did their drill, looking like mechanical dolls to the tumultuous Oriental; the Temple colonnades boomed and rattled with the arguments of rival rabbis, and its gutters still steamed with the red blood of sacrifices that were henceforward meaningless.

The feast of Pentecost came, bringing new crowds of pilgrims, and early on that morning an uproar began to be heard in the city that set everyone running towards one place—to the house out of which

the Apostles had at last been hurled by the Holy Spirit. They were found standing outside it, crying out that God was wonderful in his works, and every one of that motley crowd could understand their words. But not their meaning. Many went round, bewildered, asking: "What is this?" Others, cynical and taking the mean escape, said, with shrugged shoulders, that the men were drunk.

Peter stood forth as spokesman. The prophesied day had come. The Christ had dwelt among his people. He is Jesus of Nazareth. "*Is?* But he was crucified." Yes, but God had raised him from the dead, and thereby had set on him his seal. And to this, they, the Twelve, were witnesses (Acts ii 1-36).

Into hard hearts and preoccupied brains the Spirit made its way. Anxious Jews flocked round the Apostles. "What shall we do?" What had been done was irrevocable. But for the future? An act of contrition, an act of faith—"Repent; and be baptized." So shall your sins be remitted, and you shall receive the free gift of the Holy Spirit of God. The promises are for you—for your children—for all, the far as well as the near.

Thus was the Church proclaimed; and through the humble folk of Jerusalem the good news spread, and in a hundred homes the name of Jesus was once more spoken. From house to house the Apostles went, eating the bread of brotherhood with joy and simplicity of heart, and they had all things in common, and none went needy (Acts ii 37-47).

The Apostles did not shirk publicity, and in this, perhaps, they found their best protection. For in their very worship they were indistinguishable from the rest. It occurred to no one that a schism had been made. They were all the while in the Temple, and constant at the appointed hours of prayer. Their own prayers—St Luke records one hymn of gratitude that they uttered (Acts iv 24-30)—were in the language of their ancestors, save for the one element that was indeed their own—the acclamation of Jesus risen. As for preaching in street or Temple precincts, it was too common in the vociferous city to attract attention.

Meanwhile the Pharisees made, one would say, no move. At any rate no one was attacking *them*. These disciples of the anarchist who had paid for his revolutionary blasphemies by death, had, they may have thought, learnt wisdom. There was no more abuse of the Law and its chief devotees. Possibly they may have thought that here, in this piece of true-Jew enthusiasm, was the spark needed to kindle a nationalist conflagration. And maybe, in the preaching of the Resurrection, they did not discern at first much more than the assertion of personal immortality in which they already believed, and were half glad to see in this new proclamation of their belief a distinct setback for the Sadducees. For the Sadducees, cultured and Greek-minded, and wishful only that the old antagonisms should be lulled and the Jews merged tacitly into the civilized world at large, asked but for a calm and reasonable life on

this side of the grave, since they looked forward to none beyond it; and these were desperate at this constant preaching of Resurrection. At last they got their chance.

At the right of the Temple gate known as "Beautiful" a cripple used to sit, asking alms. All knew him; and when the Apostles, by a miracle, had set him walking and leaping and praising God, the whole Temple courts were in commotion. Through the long colonnade known as "Solomon's" the word "Resurrection" rang louder than ever, seeing that, as Peter cried to the surging mob, it was through the power of the risen Jesus that the man was restored to health (Acts iii).

This time the officials took action. The priests on duty that week, with their superior, arrested Peter and John. It was late, and trials in the evening were out of order. For that night the two men were put into prison, and next day were set in the midst of the semicircle of those sinister men who had killed Jesus. Annas himself and Caiaphas were there; but such, they felt, was the popular enthusiasm, not on their side this time, that they dared do no more than dismiss the prisoners, with threats that had no chance of being attended to. Indeed, straight upon this, a Levite, Barnabas from Cyprus, joins the new brotherhood, sells his property and adds it to the common store—a convert destined to play a remarkable rôle in the early fortunes of the Church. The cripple, cripple no more, finds a thousand associates; miracles blossom around the Apostles' feet; men pour

forth from the houses as they pass; the sick are hurried out on couch and on mattress; from all the villages round sufferers are brought: it is enough that the very shadow of Peter passing by should fall on them (iv-v 16).

Frantic with spite, the Sadducees insist that these men be rearrested. Placed in the public gaol, they are miraculously delivered, though gates remain locked and sentinels stay watchful at their posts. Morning finds the Apostles free once more and preaching in the Temple. Seized yet again and put on trial this time for their life, they owe their release to Gamaliel, gentle and circumspect old man, whose famous name appears here for the first time in their history. He calms the council: other claimants to Messiahship had arisen within their memory; they had perished and their satellites were scattered; wait, and if this new rising be not the work of God, it too will surely pass like the rest. . . . Threatened, and obstinate, the Apostles left the court (v 17-42).

Time passed—whole years, in fact—incredible as that may seem to us whom the rapid narrative of the Acts has accustomed to abbreviate our perspective to the utmost. In the year 36, Pilate, who had been Procurator for ten years, put the climax to his angering enactments. He massacred a number of Samaritans who had collected on the top of Mount Gerizim to dig up sacred vessels that a fanatic preacher had told them Moses buried there. Pilate detested all such assemblies of men, for whom he felt contempt and dislike, but also fear. Any symptom

of united action, especially as Palestinian reunions were almost always tumultuous, he stamped upon. But this slaughter, no less silly than savage, was recognized even by Rome as the final proof of his incompetence. The Legate of Syria, Vitellius, recalled him and sent him back to Italy. He put in his place a personal friend of his as temporary governor, Marcellus, a man who could be trusted to carry out his own ideas of conciliation. But the very fact that Marcellus was not likely to bear hardly on technical misdemeanours gave their opportunity to men who were only too ready to be misdemeanants if they could be so with tolerable safety. And just now they were longing for an opportunity.

There had been domestic difficulties among the converts, to whom had by now accrued a number of Jews whose upbringing had been Greek. These were somewhat out of sympathy with the pure Palestinians, and complained that when alms were distributed, widows belonging to their group were overlooked. The Apostles pointed out that it was quite impossible for them to supervise in person the purely material business of the community. "We cannot leave the Word of God," they said, "to serve tables."[1] So seven men out of the Greek-speaking group were appointed to make sure that equity was observed. Of these, one was called Stephen. It was no doubt natural

[1] This may be just a vivid phrase meaning "to look after the feeding of the indigent," or the word "table" may mean practically what we do by "bank." They did not want to see to the actual money matters of their flock.

that he, with the wider outlook his culture had given him, should insist on the transcendence of the religion of Jesus—that the Jews were not the only people in the world for whom God cared; but, judging from his speech recorded in the Acts, he substituted a polemical and even provocative tone for the grave yet gentle appeal St Peter used to make. At any rate, after arguments with a number of Jews who themselves, notice, were foreign, and came from very cultured Alexandria, and also—this will be significant—from Cilicia, there was a definite outcry that he was blaspheming Moses as well as God. At last, popular opinion as well as official veered round. There was a riot; Stephen was arrested and taken before the Sanhedrin. Old charges were revived. "This man," they said, "constantly ridicules this Temple and the Law. We have heard him say that Jesus from Nazareth will destroy this place and alter the commandments given us by Moses." The High Priest asked him if that were so.

Stephen in reply seemed about to make what was almost the traditional speech showing how God had elected the Jews and promised to them the Messiah, and by Law and Prophets had guided them towards him. But the whole centre of gravity of this speech became not so much the privilege of the Hebrews as their abuse of it. Type after type of the Messiah had they rejected—even those two great heroes of their past, Joseph and Moses himself. And when he came to Solomon, he seemed but to mention the Temple he built in order to declare that God lives not in houses

made with hands. In an impassioned peroration he exclaimed:

O you stiff-necked, you uncircumcised in heart and ears—you are the ones that ever resist the Holy Spirit; yea, even as your fathers, so you. Which of the prophets did not your fathers persecute? Yes, they killed those who foretold the Coming of the Righteous One, and him in his turn you betrayed and murdered. You—you, who, having received the Law through the ministry of the angels themselves, yet did not keep it.

Furious, his hearers gnashed their teeth at him; but before they could do anything, he fixed his eyes on heaven and "saw the Glory of God, and Jesus standing at the right hand of God." And he cried:

I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing at the right hand of God.

They made a rush at him, stopping their ears, and shouting. They mobbed him and hustled him outside the sacred city, and there they took stones and pelted him with them, and that they might do this the better, they stripped, and piled their clothes at the feet of a young man from Tarsus in Cilicia, who was standing by, called Saul.

Stephen, battered to his knees, called loudly: "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge," and sank then to his rest. And Saul applauded what had been done (Acts vi, vii, viii 1).

II

TARSUS

Just before the south coast of Asia Minor swings round and goes down to Palestine, is the small triangle of Cilicia, and in it the town of Tarsus. The territory itself was but a fringe of soil between mountains and sea; and the city lay in a plain barely a dozen miles deep, some ten miles from the coast, and some seventy from the eastern end, where the great Amana range walled Cilicia off from Syria. Two miles north of the town the land begins to rise. Little ridges heave themselves gradually up, till, thirty miles to the north, the terrific barrier of Taurus shuts away, irremediably, you might suppose, the Asiatic uplands.

From the city of the plain, stifling and steamy among its orchards, people could travel up into a hill-side Tarsus, a rather pompous suburb of fine villas, public buildings and arches, where they might breathe fresh air and find society. For the lower town was one of commerce and hard work, of warehouses and docks. Colossal labour had been needed to make it what it was. From the Taurus three rivers ran down through the triangular plain to the sea. On the Pyramus, most easterly, stood Mallos; on the Sarus, Adana; on the westward Cydnus, Tarsus. The Pyramus charioted forth its deposits further and further into the sea; Mallos found the coast deserting it and its trade likewise; its very site has vanished. Adana, on its rocky hillock, could trust to that for

safety; it still exists. Tarsus lay low; and only the astounding energy of its citizens was responsible for its survival. Its river, running now in driblets and now a turbulent yellow, made wide marshes full of malaria, and periodically one vast flood; then it widened into a lake through which it slopped into the sea. The Tarsians dammed the river, positively threw it about, transported whole masses of their town, till their purposes should be suited. Of the lake they made docks with quays and arsenals, so that the city became at once accessible to merchant ships and safe from the sea pirates. An even more amazing feat of her engineers provided Tarsus, and indeed the entire plain, with a road, fit for wheeled traffic, through the mighty wall of Taurus. Where a stream had forced its way through a gorge barely wide enough for its waters, the chisel carved a road in solid rock between cliffs that rise 500 or 600 feet to this side and to that. Thus may you still reach the summit of the range, 4,300 feet above sea-level. Such were the "Cilician Gates." They permitted the rough products of the Asiatic uplands themselves, and the rich caravans that crossed them, to pour down into Cilicia, and also wheeled upwards all the treasures of Oriental trade, that merchants might fear to trust to the sea, on to a tableland scarcely less grim and desperate. There they rejoined yet other trade-routes, and could creep along interminable tracks through heathy moors and past white salt-crusted lakes, from one half-savage village to another, and from stony garrison town to garrison. Then the

roads sank into valleys, at whose narrow neck stood always some great town like Ephesus or Smyrna, grown splendid from the traffic that thus streamed into them from the east, or sailed across to them from the west.

More than a millennium before Christ, Asiatics had dwelt in Tarsus. Who were its first immigrants? There are those who say, the Greeks. Of the "sons of Javan," spoken of in Genesis, one was named Tarshish, and this name has been identified with Tarsus.[1]

But upon Tarsus, too, the Assyrian came down, and in mid-ninth century he conquered it, and for the first time its name appears on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser. Three centuries went by, during which the city formed part of the loose Assyrian empire; then followed the Persians, and then once more, especially after the entry of Alexander the Great into Cilicia in 334 B.C., Greeks began to permeate the region. The flow and ebb of their culture can be traced accurately on the Tarsian coins. But that culture never ousted the native spirit. Indeed, the kings who followed Alexander aped at least Persian customs, and disliked that autonomy of city life which was a Greek invention and Oriental ideas suited ill. Even when

[1] In Gen. x 4 the name Javan is probably the same as Ionian, and Tarshish, Kittim, Dodanim (or, as we are now told to read, Rodanim), and Elsihah may quite possibly refer to the dwellers in Tarsus, Cyprus, Rhodes, and the Aleian plain, of which Mallos was then the capital. It is natural that the western sailors should have reached this part of the world by means of "the two great harbours of ancient Cilicia and the two great islands off the south coast of Asia Minor."

Antiochus Epiphanes, seemingly about 170, made the city self-governing, and renamed it Antiocheia-on-the-Cydnus, it profited indeed by the privileges he gave it, but the name died out and it was soon once more Tarsus. Indignation had been occasioned by the royal favour—Antiochus had presented the town, along with Mallos, to a concubine, Antiochis (2 Macc. iv 30), and the proud place was in a turmoil. The king hurried to pacify it, but his very favour, that of making it and the neighbouring towns into city-states, was done in pursuit of a policy. He cherished the dream of creating, throughout his enormous patch-work Empire, one and the same culture—an amalgam of the Greek and Oriental. Numbers, then, of Greek colonists were infused into the populations, and Greek customs and even myths began to revive at Tarsus.

Besides Greeks, numbers of Jews had settled there, and doubtless Antiochus welcomed them, and may even have fetched them, and it seems certain that they were organized as a definite part of the city's life. For the Jews of Palestine itself had proved intractable. Nothing in the world would persuade them to be Hellenized. True, actually in Jerusalem, Antiochus had strong and sinister allies. The High Priest who had renamed himself, Greek-wise, Jason, offered him money if he would rename Jerusalem "Antiocheia," and build there a gymnasium where the Greek spirit might be infused into the young, more plastic generation. The king, enchanted, built the place, and forced the young men to "wear a hat," a custom most offensive to an Oriental, and to strip for

their athletics. Revolution, we know, broke out, and the epic of the Maccabees could be written. Fiercely Antiochus repressed the opposition, and set up in the very Temple his own image—an event that never deserted the Jewish memory—and St Paul's letters and St John's apocalypse are full of echoes of it. But outside Palestine compromise was less impossible, albeit the essential difference of the Jews remained unmistakable—"part of the Jewish miracle all over the world."

Unintelligent despotism always kills; and in the East life can be watched, from this time on, decaying. It was Rome that should bring rebirth; but not yet. Her republican rule in the East was corrupt and chaotic; yet even so, the nations of Asia guessed, one may think, that not from Mithridates of Pontus in the north, nor from half-barbarian Tigranes in Armenia, was salvation to come to them. So the Asiatic kingdoms almost welcomed Rome, not for her own sake, but for theirs. Tarsus knew the heavy soldier's hand of Pompey, and listened to the talk of Cicero, who resided there when visiting his Province, which Cilicia became. Julius Caesar passed through the town and dazzled it—it was fain to rename itself Juliopolis after him. But Caesar fell beneath daggers; the East was given to Mark Antony, who came to Tarsus to visit his half-of-the-world. Up the Cydnus after him glowed the purple sails of Cleopatra, her head full of dreams of ruling the other half too, from Egypt. But in 31 B.C., on the tossing seas of Actium the vast duel was fought to a finish, and it was seen

that the fate of Rome held good, and that she was to be no Oriental empire. Augustus was left, all alone upon the Palatine, the whole world's master.

Doubtless from Pompey's day began the placing of Tarsians upon Rome's citizen-roll, and a new pride was infused into the place. But far more highly was that privilege esteemed when Augustus, at the suggestion of his Tarsian tutor, Athenodorus, revised and narrowed the conditions of the tenure of that citizenship. Only from the wealthier classes were citizens now to be chosen; and there was thus in Tarsus a double aristocracy, the ring of the rich, and within that, the elect group of citizens. But from this time no development that concerns us affected the Tarsians.

Into their town, then of half a million souls, what distant influences had not stolen? Into those brains what strange fantasies were kneaded! For the men of those days knew, or at least knew of, their immemorial traditions. From an incredibly distant past brooded the ghosts of Asiatic gods—gods riding on lions horned and winged, a grave and stately god, and a younger god, it would seem, a god of energy and action, in his short tunic, booted, and with tall cap instead of crown; gods, each of them, that gave the grain and the grape, and held in their hand a double-headed axe. And once a year the image of the god would go forth through the town and be placed upon a pyre, and the god would be burnt, though his life began anew. Scarcely can we doubt that this ceremony symbolized the death and ever-

recurrent youth of that world-life of which the ancient spirit was dimly yet so deeply conscious. Fluid indeed was that consciousness. Were these gods one and the same? Was the one the other's offspring? To which are the names Tarku, Sandon, to be attached, if not to both? In what relation to these two stood the mysterious female form under which the same life-force was conceived by the Asiatic—the mother-bride, to be called, as time went by, Cybele, or, by the Greeks, Artemis, and Diana by the Romans? It scarcely matters. Enough to know that from unspeakably ancient nature-cults like these sprang myths and rituals frantic, obscene, and bloodstained. They never altogether faded nor were they quite abandoned. A horrible and savage background remained, even when Assyria came to stereotype worship and theology, and saw in the Tarsian god just "the Lord of Tarsus," Baal Tarz; or when Greece portrayed him under suaver imagery, all but a Zeus, serene on his thunder-throne, or again as Herakles, who laboured in kindliness for men, or even as the clean-limbed healer-god, Apollo. Stage by stage the divine types can be watched varying on the coins; purely Greek, when Hellenism was vigorous; with odd Eastern alterations when Syria was powerful; even, now and again, with Persian touches, Mithra-elements, the bow, the horse; and once, Ahura-Mazda himself rises from the solar disc and upholds a lotus. But soon enough, over all of this, was to brood the gigantic image of the Emperor.[1]

[1] See *Princes of His People: The Apocalypse*, pp. 49, 50, etc.

Did this affect the Jews? Clearly, not by heredity; but they might have been unable quite to refrain from adapting themselves to so masterful an environment. In Palestine, as I said, they were impermeable; everywhere they knew themselves different from all the world. But at Alexandria, for instance, they were far from unmodified by the atmosphere of the place. They numbered there quite 100,000, two-fifths of the entire population, and their educated men tried to effect a reconciliation between their own tradition, to which they obstinately adhered, and the overwhelming Greek philosophy that surrounded them. Determined that Moses should still be the fount of wisdom, they were equally resolved to find in him all that Greek philosophy and even myth contained. To do this, they had not only to allegorize the Greek contribution, but also their own books, and there was no limit to which their fantastical interpretations refused to go. In Asia the effect of the Jewish element is seen more upon the pagan cults themselves. Fusions were attempted, and the name of a local god, Sabazius, is found linked with the Jewish title, The Most High, or even with that of Yahweh himself. Even the group of Sadducees, in Palestine, could have been but slightly affected by this tendency; they showed their paganization chiefly in the direction of a freer life and a philosophy that denied all that it decently could.

Other families of Jews enshrined themselves quite outside this tendency. They kept all ways of thinking and feeling, other than their own, at arm's length.

One of their chief defences was to talk in their own homes nothing but Aramaic, and only use the Greek of every day for necessary transactions, like commerce. Far from Jerusalem, in their synagogues they soaked themselves in the traditions of their people, read and re-read their scriptures, practised with extreme accuracy the prescriptions of their worship and of the ritual with which it was overlaid, and in fact proved themselves so obstinate that Rome had had to recognize them as a tolerated cult—not that it was extraordinary that the Romans should tolerate a non-Roman worship, but because they expected that their own should be tolerated in return, and its official acts practised when occasion demanded. But the Jews were, as I said, so numerous in many of the most important cities, that coercion would have been normally out of the question. However, the genuine Roman had a contempt for the Jews, who seemed to him a sordid and perversely superstitious race, exasperatingly out of harmony with the structure of the Empire.

The Tarsian Jews, none the less, are sure to have frequented for the most part what has been called the University of Tarsus. Tarsus was a town of schools, and authority thoroughly approved the enthusiasm of its youth to learn. The Stoicized Athenodorus, who, as I said, was tutor to Augustus, returned to his native town in an old age opulent with Imperial gifts, so that even the most commercial-minded in Tarsus was fain to smile on an erudition that was so remunerative. But persuasion was hardly needed. There is

something half pathetic in the way in which all those of the population who had any means at all flocked to the local lectures, as scarcely did the youth of Athens or Alexandria themselves. For on the whole they had to go to finish their education elsewhere; while foreigners never went to Tarsus for what they could get, after all, better at other centres. We cannot even conclude that Tarsus talked elegant Greek.[1]

Such, then, was Tarsus, a very melting-pot of memories, and living with interwoven souls.

III

OUT OF DUE TIME

A FAMILY of the tribe of Benjamin lived at Tarsus, and had a son named Saul, after the first king of Israel, who had been a member of that tribe. The family was one of the more conservative ones we have mentioned, and the little boy was brought up accordingly.

There is a rabbinic motto that he who teaches his son no trade, teaches him theft; and so, though the family was well off (since Saul's father held the Roman citizenship), the boy learnt a trade—the local craft of making tents out of Cilician cloth—a rough black stuff woven of goats' hair, and used for water-

[1] Its neighbour, Soloi, was a small town; yet it is thence that, owing to oddities in its dialect, came the word *soloikismos*, and hence again, by one of those odd chances that perpetuate one name at the expense of a hundred others quite as worthy, comes our word "solecism," meaning just "mistake."

proof coats or tents.[1] He learned to read, like other Jewish children, in the Scriptures, just as Mohammedan children in the East learn now from the Koran. He read them in Aramaic, and that is the language in which he continued to think. However, living as he did in Tarsus, he could not but know Greek too, and, in fact, studied well the sacred books of the Septuagint, the Greek translation of the Old Testament, and when writing in Greek, preferred to quote as from the Alexandrian canon. But there is no sign that he absorbed Greek culture in any bookish or even psychological sense; the few quotations from pagan sources that we shall find in his letters are such as anyone was bound to be able to make; and though he could not live wholly within doors, and therefore must have imbibed to some extent the atmosphere we have described, Athens, when he arrived there, was to seem strange and alien to him, and he breathed its air with difficulty. On the other hand, he was extremely conscious of the fact that his father had been made a Roman citizen—as I said, it was at that time a comparative rarity in Tarsus, and conferred an unmistakable social position. And the Roman Empire soon became a reality to him. He had a clear vision of its geography, and, if I may say so, of its nervous system. He was to be sensitive to all the lines in which its vitality flowed, their junctions and their partings.

Towards the age of thirteen or fourteen he went for further education to Jerusalem, having these

[1] Whence the French *cilice*, "hair-shirt."

things only in germ within him, but most certainly there.

What was his education in the Holy City? "He sat at the feet of Gamaliel." The description is literal.

Jerusalem was thronged with students in a strange University. They flocked from all parts of the world to be taught the pure doctrine, the authentic interpretation and application of the Law, which was to make all their happiness in life, as well as to be their guide. The only textbook was the Bible; but from it was drawn, by a system of interpretation called Midrash (research), both rule and history, or, as these were called, the Halakha (way) and the Haggada (doctrine). Distinguished professors, seated in the Temple colonnades or courts, explained the Law to mobs of boys and young men squatting round them on the pavement, and all manner of rival groups were thus formed which drove their arguments right forward to a free fight. Piles upon piles of legends were heaped on the narratives of the sacred books; the origin of the most grotesque regulations had to be found in the Mosaic code; moral applications of the most ruthlessly objective historical facts were elaborated.

Saul, having been put to school with Gamaliel, entered a definite group, that which called itself the School of Hillel—Gamaliel was his grandson—in contrast to its rival, the School of Shammai. The one school was considered rigorist, the other almost lax, albeit the real differences between the two turned,

we are told, on points like these: Is one, on the Sabbath, allowed to transport a ladder from one pigeon-cote to another, or only from one window to another in the same pigeon-cote?

By dint of incredible feats of memorizing—for little was done by thinking, and almost all by authority; or rather, by authoritatively expressed opinion—the student managed to acquire the knowledge requisite for a scribe. To be a scribe was a profession: it gave a position; whereas the Pharisees occupied as such no special position in society, and might follow any profession. But the scribes, who, when they were successful, liked to be known as "Father" and "Master"—titles which our Lord in consequence emphatically bids his disciples not to seek—could rise to almost any post in the Jewish ecclesiastical and even secular world. They were not unlike canon lawyers, moral theologians, casuists, professors, and preachers all in one, with, it might well be, the duty of enforcing what they taught. The Pharisees cared for little save the establishment of the Kingdom of God on the earth, in the sense of the observation of those rules to which they were so careful to enslave their life.

For example, from the moment when, on Friday night, you could see three stars, to a like hour on the morrow, the devout Jew was condemned to complete inertia. He could neither light nor put out a fire—no, not a burning house; nor write nor erase two letters of the alphabet, nor carry any object the size of a dried fig from one place to another, nor walk

more than a mile. The rigorists forbade him even to teach children, or to do works of mercy, like tending the sick, unless they were in danger of death. An ox or an ass might be led to a well, and water drawn for them; but it had to be left by the edge of the well, not carried. There were doubtful cases. Might one, without grave offence, write two letters, one in the morning, one at night, or one with the right hand, one with the left?

This gives us the clue to a mystery. How could such a life be lived without the Pharisee rapidly going mad? To start with, the Pharisees were few—their very name, the "Separates," implied that they were an élite, and "not like yonder publican"; and even so they did not live the life they pretended to and professed to demand of others. Not only did they bind "intolerable burdens" upon men, but they were far, in their private life, from bearing them themselves. Indeed, they could not properly live up to the moral code laid down in the Commandments, nor even that imposed by conscience. This is our Lord's real complaint against them; hence his bitter attacks on their hypocrisy. Moreover a whole system existed which enabled the Pharisee to do much as he pleased, without infringing, technically, his "customs." If you wanted to go further than the limits of a "sabbath day's journey," you could regard the point you had legitimately reached as a "domicile," and this useful fiction permitted you to start again; and even you could create a string of such "domiciles," and get as far as you needed.

Yet we must not picture the Pharisees as all of them made up wholly of only the worst elements in Pharisaism. There could be a gentleness and a quite mystical other-worldliness in the Jew which were very beautiful. All through the Old Testament exquisite instances of this shine out. Perhaps, as the Israelites grew chastened by adversity, spiritualized, the characteristics of the "poor," the "humble of heart" became more frequent. Who shall say that they existed not at all among the Pharisees? There is no hint of hypocrisy or externalism in St John's picture of Nicodemus. Gamaliel was loved and affection for his name lasted long after his death. In the Acts he is shown to have restrained, with a true trust in Providence, the rancour of his fellows. But it is quite clear that the whole system of the Jewish Law, with its tremendous underlying doctrine of the election of the Jewish people out of all the world, and their unique vocation, and of the revelation to them of a Way of Life to which none other (they concluded) could have full access, could, first, create a terrible *self-consciousness*. It would issue into hypocrisy, if a man could not hide from himself that he was unable to obey his own accepted regulations, and yet needed to keep up appearances; into self-deception, if he could manage to do so; or into savage self-persecution if he could settle down neither to self-deception nor hypocrisy. It could, too, make of him a savage persecutor of others, when these should go contrary to the one believed-in doctrine, perhaps above all when they should seem happy in their

defiance of tradition, or even more, when the unmistakable fragrance of holiness should breathe across such rebels. For what more infuriating than to see that holiness was found in one who defied what one held to be the only rules for being holy, the more so if one saw that one's own self, who strictly obeyed those rules, yet was not holy?

Saul definitely says that he never saw our Lord in the flesh, and must therefore have left Jerusalem, presumably to revisit his home, when his education was finished. But the young man, a "Hebrew, son of Hebrews, a Pharisee, son of Pharisees" (Acts xxiii 6), living out to the full his Pharisaism—("according to the most strict sect of our religion I lived a Pharisee" (Acts xxvi 5); "irreproachable according to the justice that consists in the Law" (Phil. iii 6)—assuredly found no truer home than Jerusalem, and thither returned at least in time to be present at Stephen's martyrdom. Up to that moment he had been no persecutor of the followers of Jesus. He had turned the full passion of his temperament against himself, all the more cruelly for that he did not understand himself; as how, indeed, in his tumultuous, austere adolescence should he have done? In his letter to the Romans he will show, years later, how well he understands the anguish of one who perceives within himself the chasm between ideal and fact, and has no means to bridge it. It is no uncommon phenomenon to assert violently what you can no more believe in; furiously to oppose that which denies your ideals when you find you can no more, or at all,

live up to them. He turned his rage from himself on to those who rejected the system he himself found intolerable, and once Stephen had riveted men's eyes to himself, who knows—most of all, perhaps, from the hour when he stood among those who, looking steadfastly on Stephen's face, had seen it to be "as the face of an angel"—he began madly to kick against a "goad."

Why had he not actually shared in the stoning of St Stephen? Apparently in such cases the judges were executioners as well; and if Saul was not yet qualified to sit in judgement, neither can he have been permitted to join personally in the slaughter. But he "held their clothes," and was in all things approving what was done. Possibly, in his scrupulous adherence to exact law, he may have considered the whole episode to be what it in fact was, and what its inspirers, no doubt, wished it to be taken for—a violent tumult, a mob affair, and something for which the Jewish authorities could not be called to account by the Roman ones. If so, the very fact that his own fidelity turned against himself, and Law forbade him to punish the contemner of the Law, would have sufficed to exasperate him into that frenzy of persecution he now manifested. He went straight to the High Priest, probably still Caiaphas, who was not deposed till what was, perhaps, this very year, A.D. 36, and offered his services to exterminate the rebels. He forced his way everywhere into private houses and haled women and men alike to prison; and soon enough Jerusalem, save for the Apostles, was emptied

of the hated innovators (Acts viii 1). In later life the ghastly nightmare of those days was to haunt him. "With zeal I persecuted the Church" (Phil. iii 6); "even to excess I persecuted the Church of God and was ravaging her" (Gal. i 13); "I am the last of the Apostles, I am not worthy of the name of Apostle, because I persecuted the Church of Christ" (1 Cor. v 9); "I was a blasphemer, a persecutor, an insolent" (1 Tim. i 13); "I persecuted this doctrine even unto blood, putting both men and women into chains and casting them into prison" (Acts xxii 4); "I believed in my conscience that I ought to do much against the name of Jesus of Nazareth, and so indeed I did, in Jerusalem, and I shut up many of the faithful in prisons, getting my powers from the High Priest, and when they were condemned I too voted for it, and going round all the synagogues I harassed them, and kept forcing them to blaspheme, and in my excess of madness against them I would pursue them even to distant cities" (Acts xxvi 9).

The outcasts had fled, it would seem, in considerable numbers to Damascus. Thither Saul went, with letters from the High Priest, to rout the faithful out of the synagogues where they worshipped and to bring them in chains to Jerusalem. "Breathing out threats and murder" against them, he equipped his caravan, started north, and after seven or eight days Damascus shone, a city of lovely whiteness among vast orchards rich with fruit. It was midday. But a light that outdazzled the sun blazed suddenly round

the travellers, and, from the light, a Voice. Some stood paralyzed, some fell face to earth. But Saul could see, in the heart of the light, a figure, and the voice spoke in words to his ears—in Aramaic, the language of his boyhood.

Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?
Who art thou, Lord?
I am Jesus, whom thou art persecuting. . . .
Lord, what wouldst thou have me do?
Stand up, enter the city, and it shall be told thee what thou must do.[1]

[1] This event is narrated three times altogether: Acts ix 3-7—which is St Luke's account; xxii 6-10, and xxvi 12-18. Efforts have been made to detect discrepancies between the accounts. To us they seem childish. The only point which, to one reading the accounts in English, might possibly create a difficulty, is that in Luke's version Paul's companions seem to have heard the voice; in Paul's own first account they are said not to have heard it. In Greek the difficulty vanishes. Luke says that the men heard the sound of a voice; Paul says that they did not understand the words. In Paul's second account he either tells more completely what our Lord said to him on that occasion, or puts together words spoken to him then and somewhat later; or perhaps even what Ananias, at God's command, said to him at Damascus, thereby completing the entire command that he received in an episode that he treats as a whole. See Acts xxii 8, 21, and 14, 15. It is important to notice that any rationalist effort to explain away Paul's vision is based on the assumption that supernatural visions do not happen. Paul very definitely says, first, that he saw our Lord—1 Cor. ix 1, xv 8, besides what the narratives themselves tell us—but also, that he did not know that it was he. He asks, Who art thou? (We cannot but recall that Bernadette at Lourdes had no idea when she first saw her vision that the "girl" was our Lady; and also, that she saw it when she was not expecting it, and sometimes did not see it when she was. Also, that what she once described as a "bright cloud" preceded and followed the apparition, and that Mary spoke to her in the Lourdes patois, though, even so, she heard the words "here"—

When Saul was helped to his feet it was found that he was blind. So they led him by the hand to the house of a man called Judas, maybe his appointed host. But one of the faithful, Ananias, had been warned by God of his coming, and after a moment of panic at the thought of meeting thus the man of whom he knew nothing, so far, save that he ravaged the flock of God, he obeyed the divine voice and sought him out, and found him praying. He put his hands upon his head, and said: Brother Saul, the Lord has sent me—Jesus, who was seen by you on the road you came by—that you may have your sight back, and be filled with the Holy Spirit.

And as it were scales fell from Saul's eyes, and he could see. Forthwith he was baptized, and then ate, and recovered strength (Acts ix 1-19).

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i.e., in her heart or mind, not with her ears.) This is a strong argument against the only theory that is psychologically attractive—that Paul had really for a long time known in his subconsciousness, as they say, that Jesus was the Messiah, and that all his recent activity had been a kicking against the goad in the sense that he persecuted what he in his heart *knew* to be true. With a kind of crash this would have emerged, it is suggested, into his awareness. But then, the vision would have shown him precisely that. But it does not. It does not occur to him that the figure is Jesus. We may, in fact, almost be glad that Paul had never seen our Lord, because had he done so, and now declared that he recognized him, then, indeed, we might have had the chance of talking about buried memories and the like. It is, too, important, though not in itself conclusive, to see that Paul emphasizes his own good faith in the matter of the persecutions; that he had found the Law an intolerable taskmaster does not prove that he had veered right round and had begun to think the new sect was right. For that special conflict of wills, or scruples, there is no evidence at all in the documents.

What, we may reverently ask, had Saul in his mind after this crisis? He had the faith of his youth and manhood, and in addition now to that, the knowledge that Jesus was the Messiah, and that a future of apostolate lay before him. The vision on the road had told him no details of the new faith. He was to inquire what he should do from Ananias, and Ananias had assured him in the name of God that he was chosen out to be a vessel in which the name of the Lord should be carried far and wide to all peoples that he had seen or of whom he had heard. More than that, who can tell? Dare one see, in the words of our Lord, the germ of that truth with which the Apostle-to-be should become obsessed—that Jesus and his faithful are one thing—that the Church is, by no mere metaphor, his body; whoso touches her, touches him? "Why persecutest thou *me?*" Involved in this assuredly was the understanding that somehow his attitude to the Law must be readjusted, since the Christians, who had seemed to defy it, were, after all, in the right. Else, there was little enough to alter, though much might have to be added, and all expanded. The Jews had a high and true idea of God, though our Lord had, as it were, to re-reveal God's Fatherhood. The Pharisees believed in the immortality of the soul, and its destiny of eternal weal or woe; they believed, too, in free will, and in sin, and even there existed among some of them part of that doctrine of original sin that was so terribly to occupy Paul in later years. There were, too, the prophecies and the inspired Scriptures in all their parts, which

Saul knew well. There was the conviction that the Messiah was to be given to the world; and since Saul had certainly studied the Sapiential books, there was little in his notion of what the Messiah was to be that should *conflict* with the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation. Was there in his creed any conviction that the Messiah was to suffer? We can hardly suppose so, though Isaiah had given the Jews every opportunity of accepting that vision. But it was too alien to the Jewish hope to admit the humble, suffering, dying King he had foretold, and the great prophecies of the suffering servant of Jahweh had been shelved, or at best, we judge, misunderstood. But there was very little in this foundation for his faith that Saul had to change. Only one idea had to be uprooted—that Israel alone could hope to appropriate the promises of God. And God himself was purposing not only that Saul should indeed change absolutely this fundamental belief, but that he was to be the supreme instrument for applying the reverse of that doctrine to the world at large.

But it is of little service to speculate on the condition of Saul's mind just then. For it may have lasted not so much as an hour. Who can tell with what revelations God began forthwith to favour him? It was surely not because Damascus was dangerous that he went away at once into "Arabia" (Gal. i 17), and stayed there we cannot tell how long. This is the most mysterious part of his life.

Where exactly did he go? We cannot be sure. How long was he there? At most, two years and a

half, perhaps much less. How did he live there? By his old trade? It hardly seems likely that at a moment's notice, in a foreign land, where he knew no one, he could successfully resume it. Besides, what we do know is, that he "consorted not with flesh and blood," that is, that he left to one side, for the while, the ordinary life of men. No wonder that, after the incredible experience that had been his, he felt the need of a retreat—a plunge into silence and solitude that he might assimilate the great new thing that was in his soul. *Christ*, he says (Gal. i 16), *was revealed in me.* That visitation was now developed into a companionship, a familiarity, beyond parallel. He brooded, alone with Jesus, upon the presence and life within his very self of Jesus; he mused on the words he had heard, that he was to be World-Apostle; he read and re-read the Scriptures that he knew so well, but which, under the new light, gave up their unimagined riches scroll by scroll. Worthy of being specially offered by us to God is that secret sojourn of St Paul in Arabia, in gratitude for the wonderful things then done by God in that great soul, and to obtain in our heedless days that the love of close communion with God and the things of heaven may be increased. Until the soul has been withdrawn, and purified, and taught, and knit close with God, it dare not go forth, cry aloud, and give itself to the world it yearns to save. And may we not think that St Paul himself will be grateful to us, if we detect what he does not tell—that in his "forty days" of wilderness frightful temptations haunted him?

Remember that it was an entire life that was being rooted out; a future had to be faced that would have made him think you mad, once, had you suggested it to him. He had lived in the blaze of publicity—religious publicity, nationalist glory; the whole of that had to be reversed. Grinding humiliation; probing error; blind entry into the unknown; sick consciousness of hopeless insufficiency. With such agonies come what graces! Amazing months, when, in a world unaware, a man was passing through the utmost of human weakness, and the tremendous energizing of Omnipotence.

IV

THE OPENED DOOR

It has been conjectured that Saul went to Arabia to put himself somewhere in the jurisdiction of Aretas, king of Arabia Petraea, as it was called. For he says that when he finally returned to Damascus he found Aretas in power there. He may have followed the protection of that monarch.[1] But the patronage of

[1] But it remains a problem what Aretas IV was doing at Damascus at all. The emperor Tiberius had indeed disliked the restless kinglet, and had ordered Vitellius, the Syrian governor, to proceed against him. However, in 37, the year of Tiberius's death, the expedition was given up. It is thought that the insane Caligula, who liked to do the exact opposite to what his predecessor on the throne had done, and who gave proofs of this most markedly in the East and in Palestine in particular, may have given Damascus to Aretas precisely because Tiberius so much disapproved of him. In fact, coins of Tiberius and of Nero are found in great quantities at Damascus, but none, it is

Aretas, even if he thought of applying for it, which seems to me extremely improbable, was not to be of the least use to him. He went the round of the synagogues, announcing that Jesus was the Messiah, and frightening the faithful no less than he infuriated the Jews. Can we form even a faint idea of the sensation provided by this sudden reappearance of the persecutor turned prophet? The faithful of Damascus had known quite well that he was coming to destroy them—there had been no attempt to keep it secret. Nor most certainly could the strange episode by the wayside have been suffered to remain unknown. But after it Saul had gone to the house of Judas, thence to that of Ananias, and whatever Ananias might have had to say of him, Saul had then vanished. Who knows whether Ananias was not even suspected of spiriting him away? No less abrupt had been his return. But what a return! "Jesus is Messiah!" . . . With difficulty the faithful became accustomed to him, and just in that proportion the Jews waxed hot against him. They made a plot—the first of very many from which he was to have to escape. They had actually won over Aretas to active support, the more easily, no doubt, as he felt his hold upon the city to be precarious; he guarded the gates lest Saul should break out. But he was let down

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said, of Caligula or Claudius, so that it is deduced that between 37 and 54 Damascus ceased to be a Roman city. If this is so, it is an instance, of which we shall find more, of facts told to us by the Acts or Epistles only, but corroborated by the discoveries of archaeology.

from the city ramparts in a basket, and so evaded the sentinels (Acts ix 23-25; 2 Cor. xi 32).

Saul, having escaped one danger, without any hesitation went to the very fountain-head of peril, Jerusalem. His wish was to visit Peter. Never will he fail to seek authoritative sanction for what he preaches. At Jerusalem the welcome was chilly. They were all still afraid of him, and scented, no doubt, some plot, so unbelievable was the change from the old to the new Saul. But Barnabas, the convert Levite from Cyprus, true to his name, "the son of consolation," and full of that charity that "believeth all things," took charge of Saul, introduced him, narrated his conversion, and soon made him fully at home among the older faithful. It would seem that of the Apostles only Peter and James were there (Gal. i 18, 19; Acts ix 26-28). But Saul, unexpectedly, first found opposition to arise from the Hellenist, not the Palestinian Jews, or perhaps he deliberately sought out those with whom he hoped he would have more in common. Within a fortnight indignation was blazing; a new plot was made to take his life. In the rapidity with which things came to such a head both in Damascus and in Jerusalem, one may see an indication of the quite passionate fury that the defection of Saul had aroused. After all, he had been the very incarnation of anti-Christian zeal. The Jewish zealot was expected to display almost fantastic feats of endurance for his cause; the famous instance is quoted of how, in the fortress of Massada, nearly a thousand Jews, there

imprisoned, sooner than fall into the hands of the enemy, had first killed their wives and children and then one another. Rome herself had been horrified by this episode; but the Jews would have wished it to be normal, sooner than betrayal. And no betrayal like Saul's could be conceived. Saul himself would have despised plot and death alike; but the faithful were nervous, and their arguments were reinforced by a vision he received in the Temple. "Make haste; leave Jerusalem quickly," said the Voice, "for they will not accept your witness about me." Saul pleaded for the men who would murder him—no wonder; had they not known what his own record was? did they not remember how he had stood in sympathy with those who had shed the "blood of Stephen thy martyr"? (Acts xxii 20). But "Go," our Lord repeated to him; "I will send thee afar off, to the pagans . . ." So the faithful escorted him out of Jerusalem, as far as Caesarea, and thence he made his way to his home at Tarsus, and for quite three years we lose sight of him.

Surely one of the most amazing facts in the life of the Apostle is that he thus periodically vanishes. We can only surmise that the Christian groups found later on in Cilicia (Acts xv 41) were begun by him during these years. But to us the vital point is the prolonged novitiate imposed by Providence on a man who must have been burning to embark on those distant missions of which he had been warned as his due destiny. And notice, he did not even leave Cilicia till he was fetched. So alien to the truth is

the picture of Paul as a hot-headed convert, turning the Church upside down with the new views he imposed upon his recalcitrant elders.[1]

However, the gates of the Church were, during these years of Saul's retirement, being opened to the heathen, and not by him. It was very slowly that the Gospel spread beyond the walls even of the Holy City. The blood of St Stephen was in truth the seed of conversion, for the faithful, hurled this way and that out of Jerusalem, carried the Gospel with them (Acts viii 4). The little-known St Philip may have been one of the most active in this matter, since the Acts trouble to tell us of two noteworthy actions of his, unparalleled, at least so far as that document goes, save by Peter and, later on of course, by Paul. He went at once, after the martyrdom, to Samaria; nor must it be forgotten how hateful the Jews and the Samaritans mutually were. Perhaps Philip, a Hellenist convert,[2] cared less about this sort of feud; but it remains that the Samaritans were possessed of a most diluted sort of religion, and had suffered a semi-paganization at the hands of their Mesopotamian conquerors. The work of Philip, who

[1] Were we to put the date of Stephen's martyrdom as early as some do, we should have to allow eight years to Paul at Tarsus. This really seems exorbitant, and we would much rather prolong somewhat the period of the Church's infancy at Jerusalem. For in any case he was summoned from Tarsus in A.D. 43, and three years do seem quite long enough for this sort of preparation. On the other hand, a great lesson is to be deduced from the slowness of the Church's emancipation, too, from her Jewish swaddling-bands.

[2] This assumes that he was the deacon, Stephen's colleague, and not the Apostle.

had taught and baptized many of the inhabitants, was recognized and confirmed by Peter and John, who came from Jerusalem to lay hands on the converts and obtain for them the Holy Ghost. But Philip's action in baptizing the Ethiopian eunuch (Acts viii 26-39) was even more significant. For though this man was a proselyte at heart, yet the Mosaic Law excluded him from any actual share in Jewish privileges. Philip overrode this objection, and admitted him into the Church. Finally Peter himself, after travelling yet further, baptized the Roman officer Cornelius, on being definitely ordered to do so by the famous vision which taught him that nothing that God had made "clean" could be called profane or outside the pale of the divine good will. The event was epoch-making, for the Holy Spirit was given to the converts before even they were baptized, and this was for St Peter the convincing attestation that God ratified his act. None the less, he had much difficulty in making his action accepted by the Jerusalem faithful; and St Luke relates the whole of the story again, as St Peter told it to his critics there. After what he said, they "kept quiet"; then they "glorified God, saying: 'So, then, even to the pagans has God given the change of heart that is unto life'" (Acts x, xi 1-18).

None the less, it was at Antioch that the revolution was consummated, and that pagans became Christians on any large scale, and were in fact *called* "Christians." So far they had been a sect of the Jews among Jews. Most of those whom the martyrdom of Stephen had

scattered, went, say the Acts, as far as Phoenicia and Antioch and Cyprus, but preached to Jews only (xi 19). But some of those who went to Antioch preached to pagans too (20), and news soon came of this to Jerusalem, and the Apostles sent Barnabas of Cyprus to see what was happening.[1] When Barnabas saw the great field that lay open in those districts, he was delighted, and remembering Saul, to whom long ago at Jerusalem he had been kind, went off in person to Tarsus and brought him back to Antioch, and there they spent a year together. Antioch was an enormous city—the third largest, they say, in the world at that time. Its rulers had always been good to the Jews, who formed a separate community with rights equal to those of the ordinary citizens. But it is definitely because the pagans were preached to that this episode was so outstanding, and it is certainly the pagans and not the Jews who invented the name "Christian," which is enough to show how numerous they became (Acts xi 21-26). The city was famous for its rich yet savage beauty, and its extraordinarily immoral life, which centred in the "Grove of Daphne," a sort of pleasure garden, where Apollo received an unusually revolting homage. But the fierce nature-cults of Syria had here survived, though tamed and made merely licentious by the artistic civilization that had been superimposed upon the old bloodthirsty worship.

[1] More than once we shall notice that the Apostles choose as delegate someone who is likely to *sympathize* with the weaker party in a discussion.

In the winter of 43-44, a visitor from Jerusalem, Agabus, announced under divine inspiration that a great famine was to devastate the empire, and indeed these years were distressful for the failure of crop after crop, though the worst, in Palestine, was not reached for a year or two. However, the faithful of Antioch made a collection, which they sent by Barnabas and Saul to Jerusalem, and thus Saul, for the second time since his conversion, found himself in the Holy City (Acts xi 27-30). He must have arrived just as the persecution engineered by Herod Agrippa I was at its hottest. Peter was in prison, and James, the brother of John, had been killed. If they waited, after the miraculous liberation of St Peter, to celebrate the Pasch of 44, they will still have been in Jerusalem when news came of the sudden death of Herod Agrippa while he was celebrating games in honour of the Emperor Claudius at Caesarea.[1] This death altered the whole situation. The enormous territories that had been given by Caligula and Claudius to Agrippa, the ex-prisoner of Tiberius, were taken away again, his son being considered too young to rule. Thus peace was once more given to the Church. And apparently at this crisis Saul received from God that surpassing favour for which he speaks in his second letter to the Corinthians,[2] when he was transported in ecstasy

[1] See Acts xii 21-23 for the horrible and sensational death of Agrippa. Josephus, *Ant.* XIX, viii 2, also relates it.

[2] xii 2-4. This letter having been written at the end of 56 or in 57, and the vision having occurred some fourteen years previously, its date would fall near the time we are speaking of. Possibly

into the "third heaven," and heard words that "cannot be spoken." Nor was such a sign from God without special import. A new life was at last to begin for him who was henceforth to be, in full truth, Apostle of the Gentiles. But even so, it was only beneath the wing of Barnabas that he was to set forth.

This is how Luke tells of the great moment.

Now in the church at Antioch there were prophets and teachers[1]—Barnabas, and Simon surnamed The Black, and Lucius from Cyrene, Manahem, foster-brother of Herod the Tetrarch, and Saul. And while they were praying to the Lord and fasting, the Holy Spirit said:

"Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work to which I am destining them."

And having fasted and prayed (yet more), they laid their hands upon them and sent them off (xiii 1-3).

Barnabas therefore led the way down to Seleucia, the port of Antioch, and with him went Saul, and a young man called John Mark, a nephew of Barnabas, to wait on them. So from one port sailed to what different destinies three men—John Mark, after

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it occurred as before in the Temple, and thus, each time the Apostle visited Jerusalem, a supernatural sanction of supreme importance would there have been given him.

[1] In a Christian community of this date prophets were not only men who foretold the future, but who in any way proclaimed the Word of God for exhortation, encouragement, and the like, especially under inspiration. Teachers appear to have been practically what we should now mean by recognized catechists. See *Princes of His People* in this series, II. *Apocalypse*, p. 3.

strange vicissitudes, to the close service of St Peter, the See of Alexandria, and the writing of the Second Gospel; Barnabas, the captain, to a work for Christ, by us all but forgotten; Paul, having set the world on fire, to the headman's axe at Rome. What of it did they then foresee? Who knows! But of the crowds upon the quays who watched the embarcations, not one gave to these undistinguished Jews a second thought.

V

INTO THE WORLD

Barnabas, as was but natural, headed first for his native island, Cyprus. It was full of Jews, and the Christians, after Stephen's death, had prepared the way for a mission. Disembarking at Salamis, they tramped through the whole island on foot till at Paphos, the capital, they were summoned by Sergius Paullus, the proconsul, to visit him. St Luke remarks that he was an intelligent man; all the less endurable to him must have been life on that uneventful island, and small wonder that he entertained himself with occultism and had about him a Jew called Elymas, who described himself as a Mage, or Oriental philosopher, who most probably assisted his teaching, as many did, with conjuring tricks. Elymas threw his weight against these probable rivals at the proconsular court.

As through a veil suddenly rent, Saul strides into

the open. He hurls spiritual lightnings upon Elymas, strikes him blind, and makes a Christian of the panic-stricken Roman (Acts xiii 1-12).

Two significant details. Henceforward Barnabas retires. The expedition is now known as "Paul's party" (xiii 13), and Barnabas's name is no more mentioned first. Moreover Saul now takes the name of Paul, and never reverts to his old one. Like many another, he found that when dealing with Greeks and Romans it was useful to have a name that would sound less outlandish than his own.[1] It is a definite mark that he is conscious of having emerged into a wider than Jewish world.

Meanwhile, it had to be confessed that, to Paul, Cyprus seemed to lead to nowhere in particular. Paul was to have a clear view of his mission-field, but we dare not say it was fully formed from the outset.[2]

[1] Indeed, in Greek, Saulos meant "waddling" or "prancing"; and if the tradition that St Paul was bandy-legged has any truth in it, the name lent itself to personal ridicule. It can be but a coincidence that he made the change from Saul to Paul just when he had met a Paullus.

[2] Few, perhaps, have contributed more than Sir W. M. Ramsay towards explaining to us the environment of St Paul. Now he loyally states that he isolates one aspect of Paul's work, one element in his mind. He represents St Paul as having a theory of human nature and of human history, of contemporary local and imperial politics. Paul is said to have held that humanity had degenerated, and was degenerating, and that this was due to idolatry, God being alone Reality, and pagan gods, therefore, illusion, and intellectual delusion initiates moral decline. Paul is further held to have been much affected by Hellenic notions of liberty—the city-state in opposition to Persian or other Oriental despotisms, no less than to the principle of Judaic legalism. He is also held as having seen in the Roman Empire an organization which, if Christianized, might save the world, while, if pagan, it could but become the Church's supreme rival

Paul seems, now or later, to have decided to establish Christianity in a ring, from Jerusalem to

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and persecutor, the world-corrupter because imposing the world-worship of itself. Finally, he is to have believed strongly in the value of education, and that Christianity was a religion that demanded education if it were to be possessed properly. Sir William holds with perfect truth that one must not limit the contents or implications of an idea in a great man's mind, and it is no doubt foolish not to study the entire mind of a man one of whose ideas one may be examining, so as to see what other ideas are likely to modify it, and to be aroused by it. Hence, Sir William thinks, it would be wrong to suppose that because St Paul speaks of everything from the religious point of view only, and never mentions history, education, politics, etc., for their own sakes, nor art or physical phenomena, such as the natural beauties of the lands he traversed, at all, therefore he paid no attention to such things, and had no ideas about them. Certainly a man, by experience and observation, or because he already possesses some philosophy or general view of life, may grow to understand or interpret a new idea that he acquires, in a new way, or a richer way, or he may govern his practical behaviour or use of that new idea by means of his earlier convictions or ever new experiences. This is practically what St Paul is supposed to have done. He held all sorts of general views: he became a Christian; he managed his Christian work along lines he already valued. There is no reason in itself why a convert should not learn ever fuller meanings in his faith by multiplying into it his previous experiences and convictions in due subordination. But I cannot think that St Paul did this, save in some quite secondary way. He surely acted straight from his Revelation—that and only that was the source of his work. He considered that our Lord had revealed to him a truth and given him a mission, which was, to declare to the world its supernatural destiny. I think he hardly gave his mind at all to problems of education or to philosophy. He did not at all want to make a Christian empire. He wanted the world to be Christian that God might receive in and from it his proper worship, and that men might be eternally happy with God. Of course, he set about his missions methodically, and was no haphazard evangelist. Almost you might say that it was hinted to him that not even this amount of thought-out apostolate was God's plan for him, since more than once we shall hear that he was checked "by the Spirit" from following

the east cost of the Adriatic: that was one-half of the Roman world; then he proposed to visit Rome itself, and thence to go on to Spain. We have seen him so far oscillate between Jerusalem, Damascus, and Antioch, and Tarsus just round the angle of the coast. That had made a fairly solid block of country, for Cilicia itself could be conceived as adjoining Syria even better, in some ways, than it might be seen as part of Asia. But now Paul starts definitely to work on Asia itself.

He crosses from Paphos to Perge, the little capital of Pamphylia. But this was only to be a springing-off place to the Pisidian Antioch (there were very many towns of this name, and this was the second chief town of the province Galatia, and a Roman colony). But at this point John Mark went home. The event is curtly mentioned, but had sad effects long afterwards. Why did he go? Was he sick? The climate of Pamphylia is said to be relaxing and full of malaria. But the tender-hearted Paul would not have been severe with him for that. Was he homesick for his mother's house at Jerusalem? Was he appalled at the 3,600-foot climb to Antioch, through ravines and across torrents infested, it was

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the route that had seemed reasonable to him. St Paul, then, was alert to all facts, but he never, to my mind, started from or set towards anything short of the supernatural revelation he had received, or the supernatural consummation of which it told him. Possibly Sir William has not grasped the full idea of St Paul's supernaturalism; anyhow, I feel that he tries too hard to "recommend" St Paul as a sensible and up-to-date, broad-minded man of practical genius.

known, by brigands?[1] Anyhow, he went, and the two older men started the climb alone. It took them perhaps a week to reach Antioch.

However ancient the site of this Antioch may have been, its history really begins when Seleucus Nikator founded it about 300 B.C., and named it after his father, Antiochus. The garrison was a stronghold against the half-savage and quite un-Hellenized tribes of the mountains around, and a real outpost and fortress of Syro-Greek culture, feeling itself intimately bound to the capital, Syrian Antioch, and quite out of sympathy with its environment. As so often, a double transplanting of colonists had probably taken place, Greeks from the one side, Jews from the other, and in their isolation the three elements of the population had fused more than was usual. Shutting their eyes to the acts of paganism involved in all public functions, the Jews had held offices there for some generations already. Though the city became a Roman colony in 25 B.C., or shortly afterwards, it did not at once receive the citizenship, but must have been hoping for it when Paul arrived there. A Roman colour had settled down over the town; the rounded arch, the state-occasion toga, wild-beast shows and gladiatorial fights will have come in the colonizers' train. Much later on the Roman influence faded out of Antioch,

[1] Many votive tablets have been found in this region, referring often to escape from flood or attack. Runaway slaves often became such brigands. It is odd to think what Onesimus (see p. 194) might have become, had he not met Paul.

and it relapsed into being a part-Greek, still more an Oriental town. Into it, where a Roman citizen would be perforce very highly appreciated, and where an unusual bond drew pagan and Jew together, Paul arrived after his long climb through the mountains.

On the Sabbath the two travellers went straight to the synagogue; and either because they had come to an arrangement with the authorities, or because there was a special place for intending speakers, and they there sat down, or, finally, because it was the courteous custom to invite strangers to speak, the synagogue officials sent to ask them if they would say something. The speech was momentous. We cannot exactly suppose that the synagogue was full of pagans, but it is clear that a large part of the congregation was proselyte. Paul addressed himself to "born Jews" and to "you who fear God," and embraced both categories in an undivided charity. More, after proclaiming the Messiahship of Jesus, his saving death and triumphant resurrection, he definitely said that in him, by faith, all might find a salvation from what the Law itself of Moses could not save them. Here his eye travels further—to the pagans themselves. His reception was more than sympathetic; it is clear that the Jewish part of his audience did not detect the full bearing of this part of his message. However tolerant, in their semi-fusion with the Greek colonists, they would not have borne to hear that the Law is insufficient and that a better way is open to all.

After the service the Apostles were begged to speak again the next Sabbath; during the week they were thronged with enquirers; when the Sabbath came, practically "the whole town" flocked towards the synagogue (xiii 44). But by this time the opposition had formed itself. Whatever Paul said, the Jews contradicted and insulted him and his message. "We could not but give our message first to you," the Apostles said; "but since you thrust aside the Word of God and show yourselves unworthy of eternal life, well, we turn to the pagans." The supreme crisis had been reached; the barrier broken. The week was all consolation, till the Jews, by now infuriated, engineered a riot; they enlisted the influence of the eminent women of the town, and for the first time Paul felt on his shoulders the lictors' rods.[1]

Paul and Barnabas therefore fled from Antioch, and after three days, mostly by one of those stone roads by which Rome was just then linking up important points of her provinces, they came to Iconium, now Konia. It was a beautiful city, high among mountain peaks consecrated by immemorial religious cults—the city itself dated its origin from well before that "flood," traditions of which were surely due to the periodical choking of the channels

[1] The women of Asiatic towns were far less confined to domestic duties than those of Syria or Greece. They undertook civic charges, were voted statues and the like, and will wisely have been ready to show zeal on behalf of law and order in a town where the Roman rule was at once so precious and so necessary (Acts xiii 13-52).

by which water, voluminously flowing into her plain, was made to irrigate it. Without some such system the streams widened out and stagnated, save when the fissured soil swallowed them, since nature provided no outlet. It was a centre of commerce, and, like Antioch, was profoundly Hellenized, and the Greeks had modified and tamed its earliest worship of the goddess-mother whose home was on a sacred mountain to the north, rich in copper and quicksilver. But not till much later did Iconium become a Roman colony. Thus there was no official caste to which antagonists might appeal, as at Antioch, and indeed St Luke makes it clear that when, after the Apostles' preaching began to meet with success, the Jews desired to get rid of them, their method had to be a gradual "spoiling" of the minds of the pagan population. While this schism in public opinion was forming itself, Paul still had plenty of time to do solid work, and when at last riot broke out and the mob stoned them out of the town, he had not to regret labour lost (Acts xiv, 1-7).

The two men fled to another town somewhat southward, the little Roman colony of Lystra. The Greek and Roman influences must have been far weaker here, and it is interesting to see how, in proportion as Paul moves away from Antioch, the "officialism" of his enemies dwindles. Here, however, enmity was far from their first experience. Paul cured a crippled man, and forthwith the crowd, in exultation, cried:

"The gods have come down to us in the likeness of men." The priest of the shrine of Zeus-outside-the-Walls hurried forth bulls and garlands —sacrifice was to be offered to Barnabas, the stately and silent, as to Zeus, and to Paul, the active talker, as to the spokesman of Zeus, Hermes. But this mob, who, in their excitement, cried out in their native dialect of Lycaonian, will have seen under these two names the figures of indigenous gods of those parts. The Apostles, who had not feared stoning, were distressed at worship, and with equal spontaneity "rent their garments," in thoroughly Hebrew sign of horror and disapprobation, crying that they were men—fully human men—just like their hearers . . . and in the sermon that Paul forthwith preached he taught that the God to whom he sought to turn the Lystrians was not to be served any more by these empty forms of sacrifice: in times past he had suffered all the nations to go their own ways, though even then he had not left himself without sufficient witness by his ceaseless gifts of rain and sun, of harvests and happiness. This charming little discourse had its momentary effect. But in a brief space, Jews, traders doubtless, buying up local produce cheap to retail it in the great towns of civilization, had come from Antioch. They soon started the inevitable riot; the Lystrians stoned the god of yesterday, and Paul was left outside the walls for dead (Acts xiv 8-20). When he was sufficiently recovered, the companions went on to the frontier town of Derbé, and there God gave them the refresh-

ment of a peaceful mission, and the Church was established at their ease.[1]

Having got thus far, it would have been easy for them to cross through the Cilician Gates and thereby reach the Syrian Antioch, always supposing it was not by now winter, which is more than likely. If that were so, the Gates would have been full of snow.[2]

[1] The assigning of the name Zeus to Barnabas, and the suggestion that he was impressive no less than silent, permits me here to say that it is certain that Paul had no "presence" to recommend him. Tradition is constant that he was short and that his forehead was bald. He is even said to have been bandy-legged, and it seems likely that he was subject to malaria, and others have argued that his sight was poor. He himself could afford to smile about his stature. The tenth chapter of his second letter to the Corinthians is insisting that his mission and methods have nothing "fleshly" or of material cogency about them. He gently appeals, too, not to be judged by appearances, and his words are full of a quaintly sweet humility, however strongly he insists that he, and not his self-sufficient critics, is in the right. "When I was present," he writes, "I was lowly enough among you; but in absence I am bold on your account. . . . I must not seem to frighten you with my letters. My letters, they say, are weighty and strong, but my bodily presence is weak and my talk no good at all. Let anyone who thinks so, reflect that what I am, when absent, through my letters, that am I, when present, in my force of action. True, I do not dare to equal or even to compare myself to certain persons who are—their own standard! They do not realize that they are measuring and comparing themselves *to* themselves. As for me, I will not arrogantly stretch myself out . . . indefinitely; but according to the measure of stature that God has given me, which is at any rate enough to reach up to you. . . . Indeed, I have no need to *stretch* myself to reach you—for I have already come up to you by means of the Gospel of Christ." Paul will be seen to have arrived at Corinth very ill and despondent, and to have presented no impressive figure there.

[2] Professor Ramsay, giving the lower limit of the time spent by the two men over this journey, calculates that if the Apostles had left Syrian Antioch when the season for navigation began,

Besides, these two men had no intention of rousing enthusiasm and then leaving it to take care of itself. They did not wish to create an explosion of devotion, and then to leave the converts to expire in an atmosphere they could no longer breathe. They went back, therefore, by exactly the same route as that by which they had come, Lystra included. Almost certainly this return journey will have lasted longer than the outward one. There is no hint of disturbance. Clearly it was not now an affair of public preaching so much as of developing what the first

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that is, April, they could not have left Cyprus, all of which they traversed, preaching, and on foot, till half-way through June. Allowing for a brief stay at Pergé, Paul could scarcely have reached Antioch before mid-July. At least two months must be allowed for his stay at Antioch, during which his message went abroad "throughout all the district." But at Iconium he stayed "a long time," doubtless the whole winter, and on into the next year. Unless the Jews from Antioch and Iconium were men who deliberately pursued them to Lystra, they were probably, as has been said, harvest speculators, and would have come there about August. You must allow some time for them to work upon the feelings of the populace, or even if we suppose the Lystrians' feelings to have rapidly veered round, disappointed as the folks may well have been in these gods who turned out to be nothing sensational after all—not even exciting charlatans like many who in these parts provided thrills of fright and devotion to the rustics—some considerable time must have been needed to produce the "many" converts of Derbé and the country round, and this brings us again at least up to November. Allowing that the whole winter was spent in re-traversing the road they had come by, and establishing the new churches and equipping them with a proper ministry, it would have been May before they could safely descend from Antioch to the coast once more and thence take their time in getting back to Syria. On this minimum calculation two years and four months would have been spent over this journey, and I am inclined to think with Professor Ramsay that it was more nearly four.

preaching had inaugurated. They spent time in each place, examining, explaining, filling out their brief preliminary instructions, selecting men whom they might put in authority over the churches and ordaining them. At last they went back to Pamphylia, and this time evangelized that too. Finally, going down to its port Attalia, they sailed for Syria, and returned to their starting-point, Antioch, in the course of the year 49 (Acts xiv 20-28). Such was the first invasion of Christ into Asia—for not even yet had he entered Europe.

VI

IDOLS' FOOD

On their return to Antioch, Paul and Barnabas convoked all the Christians to an assembly, and told them of the great "door" of faith that had been flung open to the pagans. The expression was to become part of the Christian dialect. Antioch was delighted; but, incredible disillusionment, Christians came from Jerusalem and were shocked at the news. "Without circumcision," they said, "according to the Law of Moses, you cannot be saved" (Acts xv 1). There was a fierce discussion. At last it was decided that Paul and Barnabas should go in person to the Mother-Church at Jerusalem and obtain a definite decision

from the supreme authority. Taking with them a Greek, Titus, who was to be a very faithful fellow-worker with St Paul, they started off, and made their journey into a regular triumph, such was the joy with which the news of the pagans' admission into the Church was received throughout Phoenicia and Samaria (xv 3).

In Jerusalem they found leaders who, of course, were sound, but there were, too, convert Pharisees quite unable to disembarrass themselves of their old habits. Others again, says Paul, got into the Christian group simply to spy out what was being done. . . . They all of them maintained that whoever became a Christian, Jew or pagan, must be circumcised and obey the Law of Moses. That this was possible, after all these years, shows how very slowly the implications of the Christian dogma were understood. Externally, the behaviour of the Jerusalem Christians must still have been indistinguishable from that of the Jews, since the most peculiar element in their worship, the Agape and the Eucharist (p. 125), occurred necessarily in private.

This is what Paul himself says took place (Gal. ii) :

I went up to Jerusalem by revelation, and I set before them [*them* must mean the Church as a whole, in public] the Gospel that I preach, and in private to the officials [Peter, James and John], lest I should prove to have run, or to be running, uselessly [possibly, "for them to see whether I were running uselessly"—*i.e.*, how far from uselessly I was running].

And not even [the Greek] Titus who was with me was forced to be circumcised—because of the false brethren, introduced by stealth, who had stealthily got in to spy upon the liberty that we have in Jesus Christ, so that they might enslave you [that is, though in other circumstances Paul might have consented to the circumcision of Titus, lest honest though narrow-minded brethren should be scandalized, yet in this case he would not allow it, for those who demanded it were not honest, and lest he should be said to have admitted a false principle. And, he points out, authority did *not* insist that Titus should be circumcised]. To the demands of these men I yielded not one moment, that the doctrine of the Gospel might remain [intact] among you. And as for the chiefs—however important in themselves—it makes no difference to me—God does not judge by exterior position—well, the chiefs added nothing special to me [of their own] [that is, the Twelve, or the Jerusalem Apostles, despite their eminence, in personality and office, yet added nothing as to doctrine or practice over and above what Paul already possessed], in fact, quite the contrary: for when they saw that I had been entrusted with the duty of preaching to the uncircumcised pagans, just as Peter had been with that of preaching to the Jews—for he who inspired Peter to preach to the Jews inspired me too to go to the pagans—and acknowledging the grace that was given me—James and Peter and John, who were recognized to be pillars [of the Church], gave me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship, that I might go to the pagans, as they went to the Jews. Only, let me remember their poor, which is exactly what I made haste to do.

St Luke gives an account of the conference at Jerusalem, which Paul relates thus with just such

details as concern his special rôle in it, as follows, adding matter of general interest (Acts xv 6-21).

The two persons chiefly concerned, Paul and Barnabas, were excluded from the actual deliberation, to leave the authorities a freer hand. Arguments were heard on both sides for a long while. Then Peter stood up and said:

You know that from long ago God has chosen that the pagans should hear the Gospel from my lips and should believe. God sanctioned this by giving them the Holy Spirit exactly as he did to us. He made no difference between them and us, having cleansed their heart by faith. So why now tempt God by laying a yoke on the necks of the disciples that neither our fathers nor we were able to bear? We hope for our own salvation through the grace of the Lord Jesus, just as they do.

Having thus heard Catholic dogma announced, all kept silence. Then Barnabas and Paul[1] were brought in and related their experiences, and the miracles by which God had attested their mission. Finally James, the Bishop of Jerusalem, rose, and said that Peter had reminded them of the original order of God, that the pagans were to provide him with a people. The prophets had said no less. Therefore, in his judgement, pagan converts ought not to be interfered with, but merely bidden to abstain from impurities

[1] That Luke here once more puts Barnabas first suggests that he was using an official record of the discussion: Paul had only been a fortnight in Jerusalem before, and Barnabas was still the important man there.

of idols, and fornication, and strangled food and blood.[1]

To this the Apostles, the Elders, and the whole Church agreed, and Judas and Silas were sent with Paul and Barnabas to Antioch, to give the authentic interpretation of the document with which they were entrusted. It ran thus:

The Apostles and the Elders of the Church to the brethren in Antioch and Syria and Cilicia who are pagan converts, all hail.

Having heard that certain men are come from Jerusalem, and have caused confusion among you and distressed your minds by what they said, to whom we gave no such command, we, assembled in council, have decided to send you chosen representatives along with our beloved Barnabas and Paul, men who have sacrificed their very lives for the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ. So we have sent Judas and Silas, who are to give the same message by word of mouth.

It has seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us to lay on you no burden other than the following necessary points: You must refrain from eating food sacrificed to idols, blood, strangled meat, and fornication. If you keep from these, you will do well. Farewell (22-29).

The decision gave the greatest pleasure to the Church in Antioch, and all, surely, promised a fair field.

Even after the experience of nearly twenty centuries, ecclesiastical documents usually need

[1] This is the "Oriental" text, thought by Lagrange to be the original one.

interpretation. They leave loopholes. And this one left many, through which those to whom the decision seemed the very uprooting of their passionately held traditions might hasten to escape.

Did the decree allow pagans to dispense with the Jewish ritual, while it allowed them, too, to observe it? Were they even commendable if they observed it? Points laid down as of absolute necessity seemed to suggest that the observance of yet other points might be a counsel of perfection. And did the liberty granted to the pagans equally dispense a born Jew from observance? Might *he* at least go on observing the Law if he wanted to? Was he not the better, in fact, for doing so, even if not obliged? Clearly many thought so, especially converts from the Pharisees, and these even put quite the old Pharisaic "separation" between themselves and the lower-grade ex-pagans. An unfortunate incident involved even St Peter in a false position. Paul relates it thus:

When Peter came to Antioch, I withstood him to the face because he stood condemned. For till certain men from James arrived, he used to take his meals with [ex-]pagans. But when they arrived, he began to draw in sail and to separate himself, in fear of those of the Circumcision. The rest of the Jew-converts were guilty of the like dissimulation, so much so that Barnabas himself was dragged away with them similarly. But when I saw that they were not walking according to the truth of the Gospel, I said to Kephas before them all: "If you, who are by origin a Jew, live like the Gentiles [as you have been

doing hitherto] and not like a Jew, how can you [now] force Gentiles to act the Jew [*i.e.*, by the terrible weight of your example, practically compel them to imitate you ?] If righteousness come by means of the Law, then Christ died for nothing" (Gal. ii 11-21).

The case is clear. Peter, visiting Antioch some time after the Council of Jerusalem, practised at first the full doctrine that he had preached, and accepted invitations from the ex-pagans, and of course shared with them in the Agape. Rigorists from Jerusalem arrived, who, while admitting the freedom of ex-pagans to do as they liked, did not at all admit that Jew-converts were equally free. Peter, from human respect, or because he sincerely feared to provoke a schism, imitated them so long as they were there by holding aloof from ex-pagans and refusing their invitations. In doing this, he dissimulated his real convictions, as Paul pointed out, and risked creating a corresponding schism among the ex-pagans, who might easily, in their isolation, have broken altogether away from the Jewish converts, and from Peter, centre of Unity. That this did not happen was due to Peter's resuming his earlier way of living.

In England it may be worth pointing out, what should anyhow be obvious, that neither the Council at Jerusalem nor James's rôle therein, nor Paul's rebuke to Peter runs counter to any Catholic doctrine about the Pope. On the contrary. At Jerusalem, after long discussion, Peter declares what the Catholic

doctrine is. Thereupon all keep silence. Then the two missioners are asked to relate their experiences, and James, having alluded to Peter's declaration of dogma, suggests some practical applications of the general law, which are agreed to. Finally, a decree is drawn up, incorporating the doctrine as laid down by Peter and promulgated by the authorities of the Church assembled in council in union with him, adding the disciplinary suggestion of St James, the local bishop and representative of the "opposition," so to call it. To me this episode seems to contain almost humorously every element of papal and pontifical behaviour. As for the formula: It has been decided by the Holy Spirit and by us—I doubt whether the most ardently papal ecclesiastic would care to use it nowadays. It shows at least the way in which this early Church thought of itself. As for Paul's dispute with Peter, no one who even begins to understand "papal infallibility" would suppose that this event conflicts with that dogma. Peter acted, at a crisis and in a practical matter, in a way inconsistent, absolutely speaking, with the doctrine he had defined and in accord with which he had so far acted, or at least with its implications, which were, that the Jewish converts need not observe the Mosaic Law any more than the ex-pagans. But that, precisely, had been laid down nowhere and by no one. This was likely to cause grave scandal, as well as to make Paul desperate when he saw the whole liberty for which he stood being externally compromised by Peter's very important action. Paul rebukes him in words that

are positively tame compared to those in which the most "papal" saints have rebuked unworthy pontiffs —St Bernard for example. Precisely because they ranked the office so high, they were appalled to see the personal action of its occupant fail of proportionate loftiness.

What was the fate of the Jerusalem decree? Notice it was not merely an illogical reintroduction of Jewish taboos just when it had been declared that they did not bind the ex-pagans. It binds the converts to abstain from "impurities of idols," and under the head of these mentions particularly the eating of foods that had been offered up to them, and actual immorality. Readers of *Princes of His People, The Apocalypse*, will recall that St John had strictly to forbid his Christians to attend pagan feasts (at which such foods would certainly be provided) and their almost inevitably immoral consequences. Moreover, in Apoc. ii 24, St John uses a phrase—"I will not cast upon you any other burden"—that is practically a quotation from the Jerusalem decree. These two documents, then, support one another and make it clear that what the Apostles were really aiming at was the protection of ex-pagans against certain dangers peculiarly incident to their position, and since immorality as such requires no comment, for herein the law for all alike was identical and enduring, all that we need speak of was the question of eating food that had been offered in the temples of false gods.

St James's proviso had created, especially for a

scrupulous person, a number of difficulties. Everyone recognized that to eat food, that had been offered in sacrifice, actually *at* the sacrifice, was to share in that sacrifice, and thereby to pay homage to the god to whom it had been offered. But pagan life being a tissue of sacrifices, the mass of meat from slain animals was so huge that ordinary butchers bought it up and retailed it in the shops. In consequence, since in the meat-market you never could tell what you were buying, and since at an ordinary dinner party you never knew but that you might be eating sacrificial meat, a Christian who thought himself forbidden to eat it in any circumstances, might find himself almost precluded from eating any meat at all. In course of time St Paul had this problem put to him by the Christians of Corinth, and he dealt with the whole matter, principle and practice, in the letter we know as the First to the Corinthians, chaps. viii-x.

He begins by establishing two principles—one, that food, whether offered to idols or not, is God's creature, and therefore good, and the mere fact that it has been offered in sacrifice to a false god cannot alter it intrinsically; second, that it is not always kind or wise to act according to one's clearer insight into truth, but one must avoid giving scandal.

About food offered to idols, he begins: "Well, I know you all have knowledge [are enlightened folks, we might say]: still, knowledge may puff a man up—love *builds* up. It does not follow that from the fact that you *know*, you also know how to *use* your

knowledge. God 'knows' [acknowledges as his] the man who loves him.

"Well, as to this food. . . . We all know that there is only one God. So these 'many gods' are, quite strictly, nothing. Therefore idols are nothing: there is no reality that corresponds to them. So food offered to what is nothing has nothing new or special about it—not even a taint! (viii 1-6).

"But not everyone realizes this. There are those who, in the simplicity of their soul, still feel, when they eat food that has thus been offered, as if it really somehow belonged to the idol, and so the unenlightened conscience is defiled [they feel as though they had committed a sin, though really they have not]. But food as such cannot make us agreeable or the reverse to God. If I eat, I am none the better for it (spiritually), and if I don't, I am none the worse. You are then free. But take care lest this your liberty make a weaker man to stumble. If he sees you, with your enlightened conscience, joining in a meal of idols' food, the poor man's conscience will be 'built up' so as to make him eat idols' food (if he does at all) *as* idols' food. So your enlightenment will destroy your weaker brother—for whom Christ died. And so, by sinning against your brother, and striking at his weaker, unenlightened conscience, it is against Christ that you sin! So if food make my brother to stumble, I will eat no more meat for ever and ever, sooner than make my brother stumble!" (7-13).

He then explains in great detail how his manner of

earning his living is an example of not using the freedom that really is his. He insists on the principle that he has a perfect right to be supported by the alms of the brethren for whom he works. However, in practice he renounces this right, lest even the weakest of the brethren should misunderstand the position, and think he was making money off the Gospel, and he earns his keep by tent-making (ix). Apply this principle, he argues, in this matter of food!

He then recalls an incident in the history of the Hebrews. They had all had Moses for a guide out of idolatrous Egypt; they had had God's special and continuous protection by day and night; they had all received the gift of the manna and the miraculous water in the desert. (And this was an image of the Eucharist, its mystic Bread and spiritual Cup; and the Rock from which the water flowed was nothing less than an image of Christ. . . .) But again and again they fell away into idolatry, and in spite of all this feasted off food offered to idols and lapsed thereupon into grave immoralities. In this, he says, you may see an image of what may happen to us; be warned. The world has reached its climax—the ages are consummated, in us—in the Christian reality that is ours. "So let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall. No temptation has laid hold of you that is beyond human strength. Yes, God is faithful, and will not allow you to be tempted beyond what you can stand, but along with the temptation he will make the way out too, so that you may be able to

bear it" (x 1-13). "So, my beloved," he concludes, "fly from idolatrous actions. I am speaking to men of intelligence. Get my meaning right. The cup that we bless, what is it but a communion in the blood of Christ? The bread that we break, that too is a communion in the body of Christ. We are one Bread—we, the many, are one body, because we all partake in that one bread." (Similarly, those who eat the foods offered to false gods make an act of communion with those gods.) "Look at the history of Israel. Those who eat of the sacrifice enter into communion with the altar—that is, with the owner of the altar, be he true God or false. I am not of course saying that food offered to idols is anything in itself, or that idols are anything—yet I *am* saying that pagan acts of sacrifice go to the devil, not to God. Now I cannot have you going to communion with devils. You cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils: you cannot share in the table of the Lord and the table of devils" (14-21).

He sums up: "You are quite free in the matter—all is allowed to you—but not all is expedient. All is permissible, but not all 'builds up' [is negatively harmless in itself, but does not 'edify'; is not constructively helpful, to say the least]. Let everyone be unselfish. As for what is on the markets, buy it without asking any questions. It all belongs to God. If a pagan asks you to go to dinner, go; eat whatever is put before you, asking no questions. But if your host *tells* you that 'this is meat that has been offered in sacrifice,' don't eat it—for conscience' sake. I

don't mean *your* conscience," says St Paul, "but *his*, for clearly he expected you to have a scruple about eating it, and would be shocked if you *did* eat it. I ought not to expose my own freedom of conscience to harsh judgements: even though I live a 'grace-life,' even though I can eat and drink and thank God for it, I must not lay myself open to rebuke.[1] So whether you eat or drink, or whatever you do, do it all to the glory of God. You must give no scandal, neither to the Jews, nor the Greeks, nor to God's Church; just as I myself try to please everyone in everything, not seeking what suits me, but what is of service to all, that they may be saved. Imitate me, as I do Christ" (x 23-xi 1).

Despite the long digression, and the broken order of the paragraphs, Paul makes himself quite clear. Two principles: False gods are, simply, *no* gods. They can't, then, spoil the food offered to them. So you are free to eat it. But, give no scandal. Food on sale in the market *may* have been idols' food; but ask no questions; you may buy it. What a pagan host puts before you, ask no questions, but eat it—unless he *tells* you it has been idols' food, obviously expecting you to have a scruple about eating that. But as for sharing in feasts that are in any way part of a pagan cult, you mustn't. Why not? First, because of grave danger of being involved in the immoralities that constantly follow them. Remember

[1] It is surely most interesting to see that St Paul quite admits that a pagan may think a Christian *ought* to live up to his ideals, even if the pagan does not share them.

what happened in the desert. ("Remember Balaam and Jezabel," says St John in the Apocalypse on exactly the same subject.) What happened in the historical Israel, which was a figure of the future, may well happen in the Church of God. But, more deeply . . . though sacrifice need not, perhaps, imply a communion in the elements of the sacrifice, such a communion does imply participation in the sacrifice, and in the long run with that to which the sacrifice is offered. You know that our communion, says he, implies participation in the sacrificial death of Christ, and with Christ himself. Impossible to communicate with Christ *and* with false gods—with devils—for, though nothing in themselves, they are part and parcel of a religion which is anti-Christian—diabolic. He concludes by reiterating his warning against scandal—weaker minds cannot grasp that you can eat idols' food guiltlessly: if they see you eat it, they will do so guiltily.[1]

I have spent time over this seemingly small detail, because it makes vivid the conditions in which the

[1] Since the discovery of the Oxyrhyncus papyri, the following invitations of the second and (in the last case) third centuries exactly illustrate the situation Paul is dealing with.

Chaeremon asks you to dine at the table of the Lord Serapis, in the temple of Serapis, to-morrow at eight o'clock. Antonius, the son of Ptolemy, asks you to dine with him at the table of the Lord Serapis at the house of Claudius, son of Serapion, on the 1st at eight o'clock. Therais asks you to the wedding-dinner of her children, at her house, to-morrow, the 5th, at eight o'clock.

A Christian could have accepted the last invitation, but not the other two. Yet if Therais had told him that such or such a dish had come from a temple sacrifice, he ought to have declined it.

first Christians lived—because it links up St Paul with St. John and shows how identical was their mind on this matter, and even their method of illustrating Christian life by Old Testament incidents; because we have thus dealt with a large part of the letters to the Corinthians and need not repeat what we have said; because the extreme commonsense of St Paul is here visible, coupled with his tender preoccupation with consciences of all sorts, even pagan; because you see how his mind moves, none the less, straight to the sublimest, most intimate and even most mystical Christian ideas *behind* the things of commonsense and kindness; how flexible yet how uncompromising he is; and finally how he can take *as known* very tremendous Christian dogmas like the sacrificial death of Christ, the Eucharistic sacrifice and communion, so as to use them to illustrate something less known. It is fascinating thus to watch him inaugurating the science of Christian casuistry, and exhibiting the necessity of an authority which shall deal with puzzling "cases" and even interpret its own decrees.

Paul's use of the Old Testament here, whether just the parallel drawn between what happened to the Israelites and what might happen to the Christians, or his definite allegorization of the rock from which the water flowed for them—"the Rock was Christ"—permits us to put down here once and for all what may be sufficient about Paul's method of quoting the sacred Scriptures. As we read him, we cannot but often ask ourselves: Does he want us to suppose

that the passages he is using really mean what he seems to say they do, or is he using Old Testament passages merely to illustrate, however remotely, his point?

Paul had been brought up on the ordinary lines of Jewish theological training. In such schools there was a regular way of explaining the Scriptures. You were at liberty to note, first, its literal, historical sense. There might be nothing else to note. But it was felt probable always, and certain sometimes, that there would be another sense, and Christians thought so too. It is too vague to call it just a "spiritual" sense. The question is, first, did the Holy Spirit, when inspiring the book, intend that the intrinsic meaning of the text should not be exhausted by a literal interpretation? St Paul, and the Church after him, have always taught that at times there was also a "typal" sense in the Old Testament record, intended by the Holy Spirit. I say "typal," and not "typical," because when we call a thing typical we now mean that it can stand as representative, or even model, for a number of things that are rather like it. By "typal," I mean that it stands as an image of something that is *more* real and important. Thus Adam is a "type" of Christ; the Synagogue, of the Church; the Pasch, of the Sacrifice of Calvary, and so forth. Paul does not mean that the person or event in the Old Testament is not real, but that, compared to the future reality, he or it is but as a shadow, a hint. The Mosaic system was but a shadow of the reality to be (Col. ii 17). The substance was Christ. The

words "mystery," "mystical," could be employed in something the same way. Thus human marriage is a great "mystery" within the Christian life, because, for all its reality, it is a pale figure of the union between Christ and his Church (Eph. v 32). The Jews of Alexandria, and even the Christians who lived and studied there, went often too far in seeing types in historical facts and in attaching so preponderant a value to the thing signified that they seemed careless about the reality of the fact that was significant—thereby, one may say, quite destroying the value of their argument. For if the thing had never happened, it could not stand as type of anything, and all that the Old Testament would have then provided would have been an allegory.

But there is another way of using the Scripture, of which the Jews were very fond and of which St Paul makes great use, though which are the occasions on which he is making only that and no other use can only, in very many cases, be settled by a most careful interpretation sanctioned by the Church. An Old Testament phrase, then, might be quoted in an applied or "accommodative" sense. It would not be suggested that the Holy Spirit intended that that sense should actually be included in the words, but the words could be suitably applied in that sense. In other words, something that St Paul (or any other writer or speaker) was saying or writing, made him think of something in the Scriptures, and quote it, or something like it, as appropriate. (Of course, in an inspired book, inspiration covers such a proceeding

quite as much as it does anything else in the book.) I take the following instances from P. Prat, *Théologie*, i, pp. 24 *et seq*. In 2 Cor. iii 7, 8, Paul applies what is said in Exodus xxxiv 34, 35, to the actual state of things, partly by comparison, partly by contrast. Moses spoke to God face to face, but to the children of Israel with a veil over his face. Christian preachers treat with God revealed, but, when dealing with those whom they instruct, do *not* wear a veil or disguise. On the other hand, the Jews *have* a veil—on their hearts; but, if they are converted, they throw it away. Nobody supposes that the Holy Spirit, when inspiring the narrative in Exodus, meant this signification to be included *in* the story. Again, in Romans x 69, Paul not only uses Deut. xxx 11-14, but alters the words somewhat to suit himself. Moses had said that you had not to scale the skies nor cross the seas to find the Law. It was in the hearts and on the lips of the chosen people. Paul says—Righteousness, the true Christian Righteousness, says: You need not scale heaven to bring Christ down—he is among us, a man—nor go down beneath the earth to bring him back from the dead—he is risen. The Word, says Righteousness personified, is quite near to thee—in thy heart, by faith; on thy lips, by profession of that faith. Paul therefore merely says that what was true for the Law—that it was of easy access—is still more true for the Gospel. Christ gave that Gospel, and he is neither inaccessible in heaven, nor inaccessible in death, but incarnate, and in the hearts and on the lips of all who believe and

profess their faith unto salvation. A problem is sometimes created, as in the famous parallel drawn between Agar and Sara in Gal. iv (see p. 152); does Paul suggest that there was a true typal sense in the Old Testament stories intended by the Holy Spirit, or that the stories can be usefully applied as he applies them? We think the latter, but do not, and need not, pronounce. Finally, Paul may be merely alluding to an Old Testament phrase, without exactly even applying it. When he quotes, "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn," he is scarcely "accommodating" that to his doctrine that Christian preachers have the right to be supported by the faithful, but practically says: If that is so, still more true is what I am saying about the preachers. One has to distinguish carefully between the occasions on which Paul is speaking really as a theologian—arguing, that is, from what he holds the Scriptures really to mean or to involve—and when he is using them oratorically, allusively. And it is a standing marvel that Paul, soaked in the fantastic and dangerous traditions of the Rabbinic schools, has not many more passages that seem to us odd and alien to our Western taste and fail to captivate our imagination. Of course, one should notice that Paul never suggests that by studying the Old Testament *as such*, and by itself, one could have detected in it all the contents of the Christian revelation; you have to know the Christian revelation first, even to see that the Old Testament is applicable or even quotable, still more to perceive that it definitely foreshadows

that revelation. Somewhat similarly, the Alexandrian Jews, determined to find "all Plato in Moses," could never have started to do so without first knowing Plato.

VII

"COME OVER INTO MACEDON"

PROBABLY a year after the decision at Jerusalem, Paul suggested to Barnabas that they should go together over their old trail and revisit the Asiatic churches (Acts xv 36). And another sad little episode. Barnabas wanted to give his young nephew another trial. He wanted to take John Mark with them. Paul would not hear of it: a second failure could not be risked. There was a sharp difference of opinion. Barnabas sailed away, with John Mark, to his home in Cyprus, and the old alliance was over. Paul took Silas as companion, and together they went up through Cilicia by way of the Cilician Gates, and came thus the other way round to Derbé and passed on to Lystra. At Lystra Paul met one who should more than replace John Mark. This was the son of a Jewess called, however, by the Greek name of Eunice (his grandmother was Loïs: 2 Tim. i 5), and of a pagan father, a Greek. Instructed from childhood in the Jewish traditions and in the Scriptures, he yet, such was the respect felt for his father's preferences, had never been circumcised.[1] But all

[1] As though a child of a marriage between a Christian and a Mohammedan had not been baptized.

the Christians in Lystra, and even in Iconium, spoke well of the fervent lad. Rather astonishingly Paul had the ritual operation performed, presumably because Timothy, a Jew by descent (and since no crisis, as in the case of Titus, demanded that a principle be upheld at all costs), could not else have entered with ease the various synagogues where they would have to preach. As they went, they loyally exhorted their hearers to observe the decisions of the Christian headquarters at Jerusalem (xv 37–xvi 4).

Having then revisited all the region they knew so well, and having actually reached the edge of the province of Asia towards the west, Paul felt the desire to enter Asia too. It was full of large towns with masses of Jews in them, and their synagogues, he thought, would offer a fair field. But the inspiration of the Holy Spirit prevented him from doing so, and he turned north into the "Phrygian and Galatian land."[1]

[1] Unfortunately a serious problem arises here. Where exactly did St Paul now preach, and to whom? and, if to certain "Galatians" north of the districts he had so far visited, was it to them that he wrote the "letter to the Galatians"? On the other hand, it is fortunate that for the purposes of this book, which are spiritual and devotional rather than strictly and completely historical, it really does not matter, though, if St Paul did *not* preach to the Northern Galatians (we shall explain this term in a moment), it becomes probable that he wrote the letter earlier even than this, and before any of the others that survive; whereas, if he wrote it to the Northerns, some time has still to elapse before he did so. Clearly we can do no more than outline the problem. First, who were the Galatians? A race established in Gaul (Celts) at least since the sixth century B.C. Of these, a vast horde migrated to the Danube and swept down even into Greece (279 B.C.), and even crossed into Asia Minor, where they settled. After many vicissitudes the

Paul then spent some time among the Galatians owing, it is clear from his letter to them later on (iv 13), to an illness that reduced him to a piti-

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Romans formed the province of Galatia in 25 B.C. This province extended further than did Galatia proper—this was in the north—and included Lycaonia, Isauria, the south-east part of Phrygia, and part of Pisidia. Antioch of Pisidia, Lystra, Derbé, and Iconium were all within this wider "Galatia." Did Paul (1) preach to, (2) write to, the northern, more purely Celtic, Galatians, or the southern, wider, more racially mixed groups —to that part of the technically called province of Galatia, in fact, where he had already been? Antiquity is unanimously for the former opinion. As for us, we think that Acts xvi 6, and the whole line of St. Paul's journey here—for he was going northwards, and had to pass through Galatia properly so called in any case—make it certain that he preached to the Northern Galatians. The only real difficulty to our mind is, that Luke gives absolutely no details about the places St Paul visited. In view of Luke's exactness on other occasions, this really is odd. But Paul may after all have visited none of the larger towns there, especially as it will be shown to be probable that he was extremely ill at the time. In fact, anyone who has experienced what malaria is will agree that it is quite possible that Paul could remember little or nothing about that first visit save the extreme kindness of the Galatians. In short, we think that the Acts make it extremely probable that the Galatians visited by Paul were the northern ones, and in that case, that it was to these that *Galatians* is addressed, and that as a further consequence the letter was not written till Paul had returned from his first visit to Europe, and only a short while before he wrote the Letter to the Romans. We may say that having held the Northern theory to start with, we succumbed for a while to the Southern one—most regretfully, because it is far more interesting to think that Paul experienced too this strange race of immigrants; and finally with much content have come back to hold the traditional view. The argument on behalf of this view may be seen marshalled very well in Lagrange, *Epitre aux Galates*, Paris, 1918, pp. xiii-xxviii, where also the arguments of Sir W. M. Ramsay are adequately dealt with. They are set forth in his *Church in the Roman Empire; Cities of St Paul; Historical Commentary on St Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, etc., and it is to his view that the Westminster version adheres.

able state of weakness and—well, unimpressiveness. None the less, this population of pagan peasants received him as though he had been "an angel from heaven," and, totally undistracted by any Jewish opponents, whether Jews as such or rigorist, conservative Christians, he had the joy of preaching to them quite simply "Jesus Crucified." Directly he was well enough, he proposed to pass still further north, into the coastland province of Bithynia, which forms the Asiatic bank of the Bosphorus and extends along the south-west part of the coast of the Black Sea. But when he had come opposite Mysia, part of the province of Asia, the Spirit who had forbidden him to preach in Asia itself, even when he was there, now forbade him so much as to set foot in Bithynia. So he went through Mysia, "neglecting" it from the point of view of preaching, till he came to the Troad, the Asiatic side of the Dardanelles. What visions haunted him in that ancient place, where all the ghosts of Homeric heroes surely were at home? Not Achilles: not Hektor. Did he even go to see the hillock where the Roman city Ilium lifted its walls above layer upon layer of ruined towns, in which the jewels and the gold were even then sleeping, as they had slept for a thousand years, and were to sleep almost twice those centuries, till men of our own day should excavate them? No. Had Paul's eye been able to pierce through those roofs of ancient earth, and seen the gold and the necklaces, the crowns and torques, would his mind have rested, even an hour, upon them? Different was the spirit whereby he

was utterly possessed. Very definite was the guidance that all this while was being given him. He had started, one would say, with no other object than to revisit the churches he had founded: he had conceived the wish to enter the Roman province Asia, but had been made aware that he was not to spend time there, nor to preach there. He had turned north, with the intent to evangelize, one must judge, the rest of the great peninsula, going across the Galatian territory to the coasts of the Black Sea, but had been told not so much as to enter Bithynia, and he thereupon bent backwards upon the Troad, proposing to go home by boat. And thus he was guided to the scene of the second great crisis, which led him indeed whither he had not meant to go. Opposite the Troad, along the northern skyline, and vanishing westward, stretched the shore of Thrace, and beyond that lay the land of Macedonia, whence had come that almost mythical conqueror, Alexander, under whose successors, the Seleucids, his early life had been spent, and whose civilization, imposed on the East, had so strongly affected his boyhood. On that mysterious vanishing coast his eyes rested, with all its summoning distances and its future, not on ancient historic Troy. And here, in fact, in the night-time a vision showed itself to him. A man from Macedon was standing before him, and imploring him, and saying: "Come over into Macedonia, and help us." "And," says the author of the Acts abruptly, "no sooner had he seen the vision, than we tried to get

out into Macedonia, reckoning that God had called us to evangelize it" (xvi 5-10).

Thus with disconcerting self-effacement in his very self-introduction does St Luke enter upon the scene. Henceforward this convert, educated, discriminating, lovable and loyal, accompanies Paul on many at least of his journeys, and we have the witness of one who saw, observed, and kept careful record.

"So we sailed from the Troad and ran with a straight course to Samothrace, and on the next day came to Neapolis, and thence to Philippi, the most important city of that part of Macedonia, a colony, and in that city we spent several days" (xvi 11-12).

Such is the fresh directness of Luke's diary, and such its simplicity. But who can gauge the importance of this first entry into Europe? And how strange may seem this abrupt transition from the uplands of Asia, where among wintry mists or summer dust-clouds Rome's garrisons held half-barbaric populations in a precarious peace—to this town of Philippi, famous for ever for the sake of one battle fought there? For although it had been for three centuries a fortress of importance for the defence of the neighbouring mines, and as a bulwark against the fierce Thracians to north and east, it was when Caesar and his colleagues there defeated the republican forces of old Rome that a new era was entered on, and Imperial favour never forgot Philippi's claims. It soared into pre-eminence, helped by the fact that it stood on the great Via Egnatia, that bound the Aegean to the Adriatic. To this Paul's mind may indeed have

reverted, though scarcely to the triumph of Caesar any more than it did to the unhappy tale of Troy: at Philippi he knew himself once and for all emancipated from the Oriental world, and had passed into that civilization whose direct heirs we are.

There were few Jews there: they held their worship in the open air, near the Gangites, where the bridge still stands. Paul had for audience chiefly pious women. Lydia, a woman connected with the local dye-works, was converted and baptized. "If you think me a good servant of the Lord," she urged, "come into my house and stop there." "And she forced us to do so." A strange incident followed. A girl, insane, hysterical, or really the victim of diabolical possession, and a great source of income to those who kept such persons and traded on the awe they inspired into all classes, kept running after the Apostles and crying out that "these men are the servants of the Most High God and are telling you the way of salvation." Paul, disturbed by this wrong sort of publicity, healed her, and forthwith had to confront her "managers" deprived thus of their revenue. He and Silas were brought into the forum where magistrates tried cases, and were told that "these men, Jews, are upsetting our city, and are preaching ways of behaving that are not allowable in a Roman." (On what was this based? On the prohibition to share in the continual civic sacrifice-feasts?) The mob siding with the natives, the Apostles were seized, stripped, and scourged, and then imprisoned with strict orders that they be kept safe. They were

in fact taken into the inner dungeon, and their chains were fastened to a kind of horizontal bar that made all movement impossible. In that black and fetid place Paul and Silas passed the night singing to God: and the other prisoners there—for it was no private cell, but sheer promiscuity—joined in their song. And in the night, an earthquake. The prison is shaken to its foundations. The bars fall from the doors, the chains from their staples. Yet none took to flight, and when the gaoler, seeing the opened doors, was for stabbing himself—for he thought that all had fled—Paul cried out that they were still all there. "Asking for a lamp, the man leapt in," and, shaking with fright and bewilderment, fell at the feet of Paul and Silas and begged for his salvation. Rapidly during that night his instruction was given—actually, in fact, while he was washing their bruised limbs and feeding them. All his family was baptized with him. With dawn came a message, "Release these men"; but a flash of the Roman Paul . . .

They flog us publicly, without a trial, we who are Romans, cast us into gaol, and now are for secretly dismissing us? Certainly not. Let them come and fetch us out in person.

The magistrates, who had never dreamed that these Jews were citizens, came in a panic, led them out, and implored them to leave the city. They said good-bye to Lydia, and so left (Acts xvi 13-40).

They went by the great road we have spoken of, the Via Egnatia, that linked the Black Sea to the

Adriatic, till they came to Thessalonika, a town hateful to our generation as Salonika. At the head of its deep gulf it had made a natural naval base for the Macedonian kings, and now was practically the capital of the Roman province of Macedonia, the meeting-place of trade by land and sea, and "in the very lap," Cicero said, of the Empire. Here, at the foot of mountains where Euripides, old and disillusioned of his very scepticisms, had watched the torches of the Bacchanals twinkling through the pine-woods, and had wondered whether, after all, ecstasy might not carry men further than cold reason, and in the land where Aristotle at the same court had taught his syllogisms, Paul settled in the Jewish quarter, and began once more to announce that the Messiah had to suffer and so to rise, and that Jesus was Messiah. Paul must have stayed longer than the brief note in the Acts suggests to make so profound an impression, as he obviously did, not only on the Jewish population but on the pagan. For few of the Jews, it would seem, were converted; but the Thessalonian Church before long became known throughout Macedonia, and Paul had time to receive two gifts of alms there from the Philippians. When the inevitable riot took place he and his companions were staying in the house of a man called Jason. The house was raided, and the Jews, not finding Paul, had led Jason before the magistrates, and said that he was harbouring revolutionaries who had set the world upside down and had come there too. The charge of disloyalty was of public moment, for the

town had received the status of a free city in reward for its siding with Octavian and Antony in 43. So it was ruled by its own "demos," and had magistrates of its own, called "Politarchs"—a rare title, the very existence of which used to be denied till St. Luke was vindicated by the discovery of the word in papyri, and also over a gateway of Thessalonika itself. Disloyalty to the Empire might bring about the "degradation" of the whole city. Jason himself was but bound over to keep the peace; but this involved getting rid of Paul. Paul accordingly went by night to Beroea, some few miles off, along with Silas and Timothy (xvii 1-12). Beroea seems to have been something of a backwater, and Paul had a tolerably quiet time there; and the Beroeans took his message seriously, testing his scriptural arguments with keen attention, till Jews from Thessalonika followed him there too, and threw Beroea into confusion. So it was decided to get him right away to Athens, whither he accordingly sailed. Silas and Timothy stayed behind for a space, and Paul was quite alone, save for the few men who acted as escort from Beroea (13-15).

VIII

"TO THE GREEKS, FOOLISHNESS"

As Paul sailed southward, the enormous mass of Mount Olympus kept him company on his right, veiled in muttering thunder-clouds, or an incredible dazzle of white snow in the air above him. Was he

aware of the ghosts of yet other ancient gods that haunted it? As he floated past Pelion and Ossa, had he in mind the tales of Titans piling them one upon the other that heaven might be escaladed and the gods brought low? No more than Troy had brooded over his brain. "I have lifted up mine eyes unto the mountains, from whence cometh my help. Our help is in the Name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth." Words of holy psalms, dreams perhaps of Sinai, of Hermon, Tabor, and of the Hill of Sion, were surely those alone that his mind harboured as he watched the great masses of rock that barriered him from the West, into which he at last was entering. And Paul was not rich. The boat they had chosen for him would have been small. Hardly, then, will it have trusted to the open sea, but will have sailed down within the shelter of Euboea, past the sites of the great battles of the Persian War—Thermopylae, Marathon. Even so, the names Darius, Xerxes, Artaxerxes will have echoed but dully in his ears. But we, trained as we have been to picture in perspective the world's history, cannot but find our memory driven back, by this strange new coming of the East into Europe, to the days when the Persian myriads, in armour so barbaric to Greek eyes and in portentous galleons, came into the same seas and to the selfsame shores. In those distant days the little crag of Greece, projecting stubbornly from the surf, had smashed to pieces the onset of the Orient. What was this new invasion? One man, one Jew, dingily dressed, a maker of tents, small,

sick, at this hour aching with loneliness and with anxious eyes. With what weapons would Greece defeat him, if, indeed, weapons were required at all against so impotent a foe? But Paul's very weakness was, he held, his strength, and with her very weakness Greece, he would find, was in futile love.

For to what manner of Greece was Paul coming?

At least the silhouette of the temple on the promontory of Sunium as he rounded it was no less beautiful than to-day; the mountains of Aegina stood out against shadowy Argolis, and Salamis melted into the mainland, with, faint behind it, the vast mass of Acro-Corinth on the western sky. And when he had disembarked at the dock of Peiraeus, Athens soon was clear, a city of white marble crowning her russet crag. The Parthenon showed the heads of its columns and its triangular pediment over the cluster of lesser temples, and Athene's spear-point flashed—he could have seen it from the sea.

He might have expected to find the shining city majestic with proud memories of her tragedians or of wise historians, keenly intent on the legacy of her philosophers, and reflecting in her very inhabitants the serene vision of a perfect humanity enshrined upon the Parthenon.

But Athens never really was like that; still less was she so now, in the beauty of her decay. For undoubtedly she was lovely, but her decay was no less sure. As for thought, it created nothing any more; skilled in philosophic prattle, her every citizen, it is true, restlessly patrolled her squares, pricking

quick ears when any new professor, whether honest man or charlatan, suggested that they might catch from him some thrill of intellectual novelty. Nor was there as of old, in Athens, the sense of beauty so much as of delicate form; it is amazing how strength had left the art of that "modern" Athens; even the nervous appreciation of the beautiful showed itself in that kind of good taste that seems, really, rather a dislike for the ugly than a true love for the lovely; nor was even Athenian taste really good, at any rate in human relationships, for it not only disliked but could not tolerate the ugly; it suffered itself to make light mock of strangers; it could lapse as easily as before into obscenity, but one that was less robust and more prurient than before.

Into the delicate, sceptical, ineffectual, conceited city Paul came with his Beroean escort, and then, bidding them to tell Silas and Timothy to come quickly, he sent them home, and remained alone in Athens. . . .

How to cope with Athens he scarcely knew. Seeing all round him the evidence of worship, the innumerable statues of hero and of god, the shrines and votive offerings, he was desperate to realize what there was no need of an altar, inscribed "To an Unknown God," to convince him of—that there was no clear understanding even of their own religion in the Athenian mind.[1] Standing about in public places,

[1] The inscription did not mean, "To *the* Unknown God"—*i.e.*, to God, of whose true nature we are ignorant—but, "*to a god*, or preternatural power—*we don't know which*—who, we

especially the market, he could listen by the hour to religious disputations, and even join in them himself, and did so, but realizing that his words sank in no deeper than those of any street philosopher, if so deep, for the Athenians did not expect much from a Hebrew. Some just said contemptuously: "What does this chatterer mean?" and did not wait to be told. Others, when he began, as he always did, to speak of "Jesus and Resurrection," will have gathered that he was but proclaiming yet another pair of Oriental deities—Jesus and Anastasis—male and female, like Attis and Cybele, Tammuz and Ishtar, as so many of the Eastern preachers, with whom Athens seethed, seemed to do.

However, a few, members of the more respectable school of thought, Stoics or Epicureans, fancying he might have something to say worth saying, took him off to the Areopagus where they would be quieter, so as to find out (xvii 16-21).[1]

Paul began by astonishing them—he said that their religious sense was over-developed. Was he of a

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think, has acted, or who, we fear, may act near this place." The Romans and Greeks alike used often to think that some preternatural being or other was active in certain places or circumstances, but which exactly, they did not profess to know. Hence they propitiated it in vague terms, so as to make sure of not addressing the wrong one, and omitting and thereby annoying the right one; and they put up inscriptions like: "To the god whom it may concern"; or, "Be thou male or female."

[1] It has been asked whether by the "Areopagus" is meant the hill so-called, or the council with authority (perhaps) to judge religious cases, which met there. We think, decidedly, the former. Paul did not have a regular "trial" of any sort here.

sceptical school, then? No. For "while I was walking through your city," he went on, "and looking at your religious emblems, I noticed an altar with the inscription: To God Unknown. Well, then," he concluded triumphantly, "he whom without knowing him you worship, I am declaring to you."

He continued with a speech that even for us has its beauty, such is the force of conviction in it; and to it the Athenians themselves would hardly have objected, since all that Paul said, meaning it literally, they could have said, and did say, metaphorically, and indeed, save its two allusions to the creation, there was nothing in it that they could not have taken straight on to their lips. In fact, these philosophers might have observed that he was saying nothing that everybody did not know already, and have wondered when he was going to be original, and meanwhile have felt complacent that Greek knowledge had penetrated even into Palestine.

"The God who made the world and all things that are in it, he, being altogether Lord of heaven and earth, does not dwell in temples made with hands, and need not be served by the hands of men, as though he had need of anything, he who to all gives both life and breath and all things. He made, from one man, every race, to dwell over the whole face of the earth, fixing for them their allotted span and the limit of their dwelling-places, that they should know God, that perchance, groping after him, haply they might find him, for he is not far from any one of us. For in him we live and move and have our being—as

some of the Greek poets too have said: *And of his race are we.* Well, since we are of the race of God, we must not imagine that the divine is like silver or gold or stone, or to aught that inspiration of man, or art, can grave. But see—God is overlooking those centuries of ignorance, because he has fixed the day whereon he intends to judge the world in justice, and now is proclaiming to men that they must all everywhere repent, by means of a man for whom he has appointed this—sanctioning him in the eyes of all by raising him from the dead."

Alas—the originality had come, and fatally. At the mention of "resurrection of dead men," some began to smile, others said, "Another day! tell us some more later." They went away, polite as ever, but—well, when a man is offering you a recipe for bringing the dead to life. . . .

"And so Paul went out from the midst of them" (22-34).

Such was the episode of Athens. We are not told of a single convert from the synagogue. Of the Greeks, "a few" were touched by grace. Dionysios the "Areopagite," and a woman called Damaris, of whom no more is known, "and some others." Was Athens alone to be reproached? Did not the humble Apostle, ready at all times to rebuke himself rather than others, feel that he had somehow played false to sheer trust in God's grace, for that he had dropped, in Athens, his simple "placarding" of Christ Crucified, and had adopted an almost philosophic style, to propitiate, one may suppose, his cultured audience?

Nothing more devastating than Athenian politeness could be imagined. Such toleration was really based upon self-satisfaction and scepticism. Had Paul, he may have asked himself, erred in adopting almost a replica of that politeness, and feared to offend, or at least, too much sought to please? At any rate, we never find that he reverted to this *translation* of his personal style of speech.

Undeterred, he sailed away to Corinth. The one bright spot in his Athenian stay had been the arrival of Timothy. Paul had been haunted all the time he was at Beroea and in Athens by the thought of the persecuted Thessalonians he had left behind him. It is no light thing, even human-wise, to know that you have been responsible for the devastation of homes and the ruin of families. . . . True, the heavenly reward will compensate, but what if perseverance fails? If, after the earthly disaster, the spiritual crown be cast away? At once he sent Timothy back to find out how the Thessalonians were faring. And he went alone to Corinth.

IX

"THE LORD DELAYETH"

Though but few miles away, Corinth was a different world. True, Corinth had been grandly rebuilt by the Romans who had sacked and stripped her a century ago, but she had never philosophized, never been really an art-centre; always she had been half cosmopolitan, full of travellers and commerce, linking

northern with southern Hellas, and eastern with westward sea. Over her isthmus, through which Nero was soon once more to try to cut a water-way, ships went rumbling across the rollers, and the vice that in Athens was at least polite in its externals, at Corinth triumphed in the very temples. It was not quite a Port Said, for the city was large and lovely; but to live in that, you might say, officially tainted atmosphere, and keep your soul unspotted, was thought impossible.

Further, "not every man can afford to go to Corinth" was a proverb due to the high prices charged there, not alone for vice. All the more, then, did Paul adhere to his resolution always to earn his way. Luckily, he found there a Jew, Asiatic, yet with a Roman name, Aquila, who had as a matter of fact but recently come from Italy, out of which the Emperor Claudius had, in 49 or 50, tried to turn the prolific and ubiquitous Jews. He and his wife Priscilla were, actually, tent-makers, and perhaps were glad of Paul as an extra hand. He was glad of the welcome. He was lonely, sick, intimidated. "When I came to you, brethren," he was to write later on to his Corinthian converts, "I did not come to preach the Word of God with any great amount of rhetoric or philosophy. At Corinth, I considered myself to know nothing except Jesus Christ, and him crucified. Yes, I came among you weak, frightened, and altogether trembling, and my words and preaching were not plausible, philosophic arguments, but just displayed the power of the Spirit, so that

your faith might not rest upon human wisdom, but on God's power" (1 Cor. ii 1-5). And in this his hour of depression and despondency, he is given a unique revelation. "Do not be frightened," God says to him, "speak, and do not keep silence. For I am with thee, and no one shall set upon thee so as to hurt thee, for I have much people in this city" (Acts xviii 9-11). But this was somewhat later, after his first disheartening experience. And for my part, I shall ever feel grateful for the "weakness" of this most human, loving, lonely saint, entering upon his new field of apostolate in terror of what it was to mean.

As usual, he began by preaching in the synagogue, and persevered, indeed, three months. But by that time the Jews were so infuriated with his heresies that they made life intolerable for him, and lest he should cause trouble for his kind hosts, he transferred himself to the house of a certain Titius Justus, who offered him lodging. Not that his mission had borne no fruit. A very distinguished member of the synagogue, Crispus, was converted, and with all his family was baptized. Then it was that Paul had his vision, and that it spoke true was proved by a considerable space of peace that followed, which was the more remarkable since Crispus's house was next door to the synagogue.

During this interspace, most probably, Timothy returned from Thessalonika and brought good news. The persecution still raged with fierceness, but the converts held firm. Paul was so overjoyed that he

decided to write back his congratulations, and sent, in fact, the letters that we still possess.

At this point I would wish to make clear the way in which I should like to use St Paul's letters for the purposes of this book. To begin with, it should be clear that they *are* "letters," and not theological treatises. Those that go nearest to being so are, perhaps, the "epistles" addressed to the Romans and to the Ephesians, and that to the Hebrews which stands by itself. All Paul's letters *are* letters—that is, they are addressed to particular persons or groups and concern matters of local and immediate import. None the less, they contain much dogma, sometimes, indeed, developed and dwelt upon for the sake of the recipients and their special need, sometimes much overshooting it, and again, it may be, just alluded to (as we have already seen) in sheer illustration of what Paul is talking about, as one may explain the less-known thing by mentioning something universally admitted. Or again, Paul's mind may, as it were, take fire, and his vision be borne away by the flaming wings of his spirit into regions where his argument as such was never expected to carry him. I propose to extract from the letters, first, just so much as belongs, properly speaking, to the state of things which concerned him when he wrote (and in the case of the two letters to the Thessalonians this will imply practically all the letter), and this I shall set down so far as possible in its due place in his "life," which in a sense we are still following; also, I shall try here and there to group references to some

particular point so as to avoid recurring to it again and again (as we have already done in what concerned his directions about foods and abstinence, *cf.* p. 61); certain great masses of doctrine I will try to treat separately; one special instance will be the sacrificial doctrine of the Hebrews, a letter which, whatever be the method of its composition, stands almost altogether outside mere circumstances; and with this treatment of Paul's doctrine I shall try to fill that long gap in St Paul's history which is so baffling, and which makes us in spite of ourselves feel that his career finishes with that part of it which is recorded in the Acts. That we may realize, then, what thoughts and problems were occupying him during his stay at Corinth, and what manner of religious difficulties were already being propounded to him by his new converts, we shall at once make a summary of the letters to the Thessalonians, translating such sentences as seem to demand it.

Paul writes to the suffering, patient Thessalonians with a heart full of most tender affection and gratitude. The letter comes as from himself, Silas, and Timothy, for he loved to associate the names of his faithful companions to his own; and, indeed, it seems to have been they who actually wrote the bulk of these letters at his dictation.

We give thanks to God at all times for all of you, and make mention of you unceasingly in our prayers in the presence of God our Father, recalling your faith that works, your love that suffers, your hope that is so steadfast in our Lord Jesus Christ (1 Thess. i 1-3).

He reminds himself and them of their vocation, how he had preached the Gospel to them in no mere words, but in the power of the Spirit, with abundant fruits of conversion. The Thessalonians had been imitators of him, even as he had sought to be of Christ, accepting the Word along with its meed of persecution, and yet in that very persecution being full of spiritual joy.

You have become a model for all the faithful in Macedonia and in Greece—yes, for from Thessalonia the Word of the Lord has echoed not only through Macedonia and Greece, but to every place the tale of your faith in God has come, so that I really need add nothing (4-8).

He recalls how he had come to love them, how he had been careful to be a burden to no one, and how, although he had not flattered them nor softened down the Gospel out of human respect for them, yet he had been gentle as a child among them . . . or, again, he had held them in his arms as a nurse fondles her little ones . . . or, again, as a father his children he had comforted and consoled each individual one among them . . . he had wanted to give them a share not only in the Gospel, but in his very life, "because you had become so dear to me" (i 9-ii 8).

And they had responded nobly. In their troubles they had proved up to the standard of the Christians in Palestine itself, "seeing that you have suffered the same things at the hands of your fellow-citizens as they have at those of the Jews—those Jews who killed the Lord Jesus and the prophets and drove us

out, and are hateful to God and foes to all men because they hinder our speaking of salvation to the pagans, thus filling up, as they always do, the measure of their sins" (9-16).

All the less had Paul been able to tolerate the separation.

Orphaned of you—of your faces, not of the thought of you—all the more overwhelmingly eager were we in our great desire to see your face. So we desired to come to you—I, Paul, I mean—once and yet again, but Satan hindered us. For what is our hope or our joy, what shall be the crown of our glorying, in the presence of our Lord Jesus in the day of his coming, save yourselves? For *you* are our glory and our joy (17-20).

Twice he declares that he could not bear the separation—in fact, "holding out no longer," he nerved himself to remain alone in Athens and to send Timothy to console them in their troubles, and to find out how they were bearing up beneath them. Timothy had come back with the good news of their faith and of their love, and how they never forgot Paul, but "longed to see me even as I do you."

Thus was I comforted, brethren, over you, in all my distress and anguish through your faith. Ah! now I live, since you stand firm in the Lord. Oh! what thanks can I give back to God, on account of you, in all the joy that is mine for your sakes in the presence of my God; by day and by night begging—oh! more than most earnestly—that I may see your face, and fully equip anything in which your faith may still be lacking (iii 1-10).

After a prayer that God and our Lord may smooth his way to them, he reminds them of that basic doctrine of chastity which was always the first practical one to be preached—telling them first the simple ascetic view of that virtue, that we must live by self-control, and not by mere passionate instinct like the heathen, who take no account of God—of God (and here he rises into the true air of Christian revelation), who wishes for the sanctification of our very bodies. Yes, sin against self is really sin against God, not a distant God, but God who has put his Holy Spirit to dwell in us. He reiterates, too, the law of Charity, and says that herein they, the Thessalonians, are God-taught, so generous are they to the Christians of Macedonia; and he adds a hint that they must do each man his own work, a hint that will be better understood from his second letter, where the uncured defect has to be more explicitly rebuked (iv 1-12).

Then he passes to the only point which he saw from Timothy's report to require separate treatment, and of this I speak below.

He then, as will be usual in his letters, gives some practical advice, and bids them show special solicitude for those whom he has left to work among them, and finally passes into what becomes, some have thought, a quotation from a Christian hymn he had taught them, so rhythmic are his phrases. As a transition he writes:

"Rebuke the undisciplined; console the faint-hearted; strengthen the weak; be patient with all men." Then:

Ever rejoice—
Unceasingly pray—
In all things give thanks.
Quench not the Spirit—
Despise not the prophecies.
Test all things—
Hold fast to the good,
And keep away
From every form of evil.

And, he concludes, may the God of Peace sanctify you wholly, and may you—spirit and soul and body—be kept wholly without blame for the day of the Advent of our Lord Jesus Christ.

He then asks their prayers, and solemnly adjures them, in God's name, to have his letter read aloud to all the brethren (v 12-28).

One particular point had had, however, to be cleared up, and Paul, with his favourite directness, plunges straight into the topic :

About those that are asleep, brethren, we do not wish you to be ignorant, lest your grief be like that of the others—men who have no hope. For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, so, too, shall God bring (back) along with Jesus those who have gone to sleep through him. For I tell you, by revelation from the Lord, that we, the living, the survivors, shall not steal a march, at the coming of the Lord, on those that have already fallen asleep. For the Lord himself, at the giving of the word, at the voice of an archangel, at the trumpet of God, shall descend from heaven, and the dead in Christ shall rise first. Then we, the living, the survivors, shall be caught up along with them, in the clouds, to

meet the Lord, into the air. And so we shall be for ever with the Lord. So console one another with these words (iv 13-18).

What Paul insists on in this first passage is clear, and his reason for having to do so. The Thessalonians thought that those who were alive at the Last Coming would in some way have an advantage over those who had already died.[1] Paul solemnly declares that it is of faith that this is not so. In the grave imagery of Apocalypse he pictures Christ's Advent: that all souls may be presented to his Judgement, the dead must first rise, and so the whole human race will pass together into his presence. It is true that Paul, probably owing to the form in which the question had been put to him, speaks explicitly only of those who had gone to sleep "in Christ." But his point is that there will be no privilege at that hour: all that

[1] But in *what* way? This is hard to determine. Surely not *just* because they would "see the Lord" a moment or two before the rest? Or, because they would not have had the distasteful experience of physical death? I cannot but surmise that the Thessalonians had heard so much from Paul about the new immortal life proper to the baptized Christian, that they had concluded either that those who had not been baptized did not survive at all; or, that if they had been baptized, and yet had died, baptism had somehow not "worked" in their case. Paul, then, would either have been explaining to them that they need not despair even about their parents or other Christians who had died, as though they might perhaps not share equally in Christ's glory (and with this may be coupled the curious practice of baptizing for the dead which existed among the Corinthians: see p. 129); or he was explaining that conversion (along with baptism) did not confer physical immortality, and that mere bodily death need not distress them. Not only those who were physically alive at the Last Coming would "meet" the Lord.

have lived, or that live, shall be together before the Lord.

But this strange little scruple, which could hardly beset any of us nowadays, was slight compared to the Thessalonians' conviction that the Second Coming was to take place almost immediately. How tenacious it was, and into what strange consequences it issued, St Paul's second letter to them will show. The Second Epistle of St Peter makes it clear that he too had to cope with those who felt that the Lord was "slow" in redeeming his promise (iii 9). He might be slow, St Peter urges, according to human reckoning; but with him a thousand years were but as one day. Our Lord most emphatically declared that no man, nay, nor angel, knew the day and hour of that coming; in fact, to reveal it was no part of the message of the Son himself. At the same time, there were undoubtedly sayings of our Lord that perhaps already were mystifying not a few. Our Lord appeared to say that the generation then alive should see the consummation of all things (Matt. xxiv 34, etc.). And the wish, no doubt, was father to the thought, and the Christians, who so much desired that coming, could not believe that it should not be soon. What does St Paul say to this?

As to times and moments, brethren, I need not write to you. For you know perfectly well that the day of the Lord shall come even as a thief in the night. When men shall say, Peace and safety! then on a sudden doom stands over them. . . . But you, brethren, are not in the dark, that that day

should catch you as a thief. For all of you are sons of light and sons of day. We do not belong to night and darkness. So let us not sleep like the rest, but wake in soberness. . . . God has not destined us to wrath, but to the appropriation of salvation through our Lord Jesus Christ who died for us, so that whether we wake or whether we sleep we may live together with him. So console one another and build up each man his neighbour, as indeed you do (v 1-11).

So St Paul gives practical advice only. He refuses altogether to express even his own hopes as to the " when " of the Second Coming, and merely bids his converts to be prepared. He practically says : Work, as though the coming were indefinitely distant; watch, as if it were imminent. No one can foretell its date, any more than one can foretell the hour of a thief's breaking in. Only, those who rock themselves on any false security will be taken unawares.

But after not more, it would seem, than a few weeks, he had to write again. The Thessalonians had not taken his words with simplicity.

He begins with an immense sentence, according to his habit of being carried away by his thought as by the sweep of some strong current, but in it he does little more than congratulate the Thessalonians on their perseverance, pray that they may have more and more of it, that they may continue to be his boast wherever he goes, and that they may not only have respite in this life, but above all appear triumphant when at the last day the Lord shall appear " in a

flame of fire" to reward the good and to punish those who have resisted him (i).

He then deals with the persistence among his readers of the conviction that the last day was to come immediately. And he has to cope with a singular result of this conviction—many among them did no work, but lived restlessly and idle as though it were useless to toil for a time that should be so short. He insists in this, as in the former letter, that though he had the right to be fed and housed by his neophytes, yet he had never profited by this, and had never eaten bread for nothing. He had worked night and day, might and main, so as to be at charge to no one. Let this be a model to others. He hears that there are among the Thessalonians brethren who wander about and will not work in spite of his own dictum that if a man will not work, neither should he eat. These men, under the impression that the end was near, moved here and there, accepting meals, talking, doing nothing. No, he says; let a man work quietly, eating his own bread. If he refuses, do not mix with him—do not treat him as an enemy, but give him counsel, as a brother. It would seem that these men were not self-constituted preachers or leaders; St Paul regards them as too numerous for that: he gives no hint that they claim pre-eminence. They are just "brethren." He only quotes his own example so as to argue that if *he* worked, and gained his own living, still more should they do so (iii 6-16).

Are we to suppose that St Paul shared the belief that the last day was imminent? He would be doing

so, if he definitely thought that he would be alive when it came. In 1 Thess. iv 15, and in 1 Cor. vi 14, 2 Cor. iv 14, he seems, at first sight, to foresee himself, first as alive, then as already dead, on that day. In 2 Cor. v 4, he makes it clear that he would prefer to be alive, seeing that those who, at that day, are alive, shall not die, but be "caught up" (1 Thess. iv 17), and be "clothed" with glory, not "divested" of their body. But what he makes even clearer is that he does not know *when* the day is to come. Even, we shall see, he insists that much is to happen first that has not yet happened. So that the Second Coming could not in any case be due, as it were, for to-morrow. But how long the immediate preparation should be delayed, or how long it would last, he does not even hint. But are we to think, from the repeated expressions, "we, the living; we, the survivors," that he at least privately *expects* to be present at that day? We may say first that those expressions do not necessitate that conclusion. He is not doing more than picturing vividly the last day. What is more, as Catholics we cannot admit that while what Paul teaches is inspired and inerrant, he affirms, also under inspiration (and the Scripture is inspired in all its parts), a personal conviction that is wrong. We cannot make this schism in the Scriptures—inspired right teaching, and inspired assertion of wrong opinion. But first, Paul or any other writer can entertain a private opinion that is wrong, and not state it at all in his inspired writings; and what St Paul's private opinions about the likelihood

of his being alive at the last day were, we have no direct means of knowing. And second, an inspired writer can be quite well inspired to state a doubt, or that he is ignorant on such or such a subject. Then he is quite certainly in doubt or in ignorance (see 1 Cor. i 16). So when Paul says that nothing is known about the date of the last day, he makes it impossible for himself to say or even definitely to suppose that it will be soon or not soon, however much his feeling, or still more, his hope, may have gone in the former direction.[1] Personally I should not wonder if the key to St Paul's mind were to be discovered in Romans xiii 11-14. He says that the Romans know that it is the hour to wake and watch, for now is salvation nearer to us than when we believed (*i.e.*, made our original act of faith—embraced Christianity). The night is far spent, the day is at hand; let us therefore strip off the works of darkness and put on us the armour of light. There are those who have actually thought that he means: There will be less time between *now* and the last day than there has been between your conversion and now! . . . Others have thought Paul guilty of the banal remark that they are now nearer death than they were when they were converted. . . . Paul, it is true, thinks of the Second Coming in terms of day, whether of day-break or of noon matters not at all; but this does not imply that he thinks of Christians even now walking

[1] The decisions of the Biblical Commission on these points, given on June 1, 1915, will be found discussed in the fourth appendix to vol. iii of the Westminster Version, p. 254 *sqq.*

in the dark. Salvation both *is now* and is to be consummated later. The triumph of Christ is, no doubt, progressive; but it has certainly begun; and this is altogether the doctrine of St. John's Apocalypse (*Princes of His People*, ii, p. 148). So while in one sense he thinks of the consummation as a *date*, he also thinks of it as a spiritual fact which is all the while accomplishing itself, and while he knows that *nothing* is known about the mere material time of salvation consummated, he knows for certain that eternal life, as St John keeps calling it, is not only imminent, but right *on* us and indeed in us, and that we have but to enter deeper and deeper into it. Almost one may feel that St Paul was forced in his own despite by his questioners to think of our Lord's coming as due for a *date*: what he thinks of by preference and yearns to see fully accomplished, is Christ's perpetual presence which is altogether outside of time, and depends on the more or less rapid and total perfecting of his own will under the power of grace.

It remains that St Paul adds some mysterious words in this second letter to the Thessalonians, which allude to something that he had told them *viva voce*, and did not care to write about openly. The key, so to say, to the cipher is lost to us, but was not lost for them.[1]

Do not let anyone deceive you in any way. For unless the apostasy come first, and the man of lawlessness be revealed, the son of destruction, the

[1] *Cf.* again *Apocalypse*, p. 116, and all the passages referring to the Roman Empire as the contemporary form of Anti-Christ. Also, *Anti-Christ* (C.T.S.).

opponent, and he who exalts himself above all that can be named *God*, or be worshipped, so as to set himself down in the Temple of God, displaying himself as being a god, the end will not come. Do you not remember that while I was still with you I told you that? And now you know That which withstands him, which holds him in, so that he shall only be revealed at his own time. For the Mystery of Lawlessness is already active; only let *him* who is so far holding him [it] in be removed out of the way. Yea, then shall be revealed the lawless one, whom the Lord Jesus shall annihilate with the breath of his mouth; whom he shall annul by the manifestation of his Advent—him whose own "advent" is according to the activity of Satan with all manner of miracles and signs and lying portents, and with all manner of wicked deceits for those who are doomed to destruction, because they did not welcome the love and truth unto their salvation. That is why God sends them a powerful error, so that they give credence to the lie, so that all may be condemned who did not believe in the truth, but gave adherence to sin (ii 1-12).

Paul clearly foretells a great "apostasy." Also, he links this up with one who is not Satan, but his ally and representative. Paul uses the consecrated language of Apocalypse, that of Isaiah and of Daniel. The son of David shall destroy the adversary, and his fall is the sign of the end and of the triumph of Christ. Is, then, Paul alluding to a definite man? An emperor like Nero or Caligula? Notice that he not only speaks of this antagonist in the symbolical language of antiquity, but even in the abstract he calls him the "Mystery of Impiousness." And he says that he, or it, is already active. Moreover, he

speaks of him, or of "that," who, or which, is holding him in check. The activity of this hinderer is itself already in operation. For a space, it would seem, this activity is to be stayed. Then the field will be left free for the impious one. This man, or spirit, will have his advent too, but Christ will destroy him. And the caricature-advent will be decked out with caricature miracles. All sorts of interpretations have been given of this passage. Fr. Prat frankly thinks that Paul is speaking throughout in terms of Jewish and Christian apocalyptic and eschatological symbolism. The fight is between the powers of good and evil, of which the echo, so to say, is constantly heard on earth, but of which the true scene is the spiritual and timeless world. Then, in terms of the same traditional apocalyptic, the adversaries would be named Satan and Michael. On earth any persecuting power is the human replica, so to say, of the antagonist, and all Christian preaching and life the hinderer. To envisage thus on many planes simultaneously the enduring struggle of good and evil, of God and Satan, and their human, endlessly recurrent representatives, the permanent Church and the ever-renewed persecutor, is indeed true to apocalyptic method, as we see in St John's own Apocalypse (pp. 63, 93, 147, etc.). But St John, at any rate, never took his eyes off some quite definite human incarnation, so to say, of the spiritual powers, and *did* allude to definite emperors and so forth, and it is impossible to suppose but that St Paul does so too. On the most human level of all, I think that the "check" is

the Emperor Claudius and his government, which did not yet substantially foster emperor worship, and the Roman Empire could still be envisaged as a framework, or even an instrument, for furthering the Gospel. But there would be, Paul prophesies, an apostasy once that check has been removed, and only after a terrible period would Christ conquer his opponent of the hour. The struggle would be renewed and renewed till the very end.

Such, then, were the two letters of Paul to the Thessalonians.

After the interspace of peace in which he wrote them, a new proconsul arrived in Greece who made himself so pleasant to everyone that the Jews really thought they had their chance at last. This was Gallio, the elder brother of Nero's tutor Seneca. Seneca says that to know him was to love him.

The Jews therefore had Paul up before this officer, and said that he was teaching an unlawful cult of God. But it has often been said that the Romans did not in the least care how you worshipped, provided you did not in any way insult the various cults that prevailed up and down the empire, and showed to them the toleration you asked for your own. Perhaps it did not so much as occur to Gallio that Paul would be less easy-going than he was himself, or even more likely would it seem that he could not grasp that Paul was teaching anything but some recondite variation of Judaism, and Judaism was, we said, a "tolerated cult" in any case. So he remarked that

if it had been a criminal suit, of course he would have listened to them. But since it appeared to be entirely an affair of words and names and of their domestic regulations, let *them* look to that. He had no wish to decide that sort of thing. Pilate had asked wearily, "What is truth?" and Gallio was not to be shifted from his practical Roman outlook for so little. Indeed, even when the Greeks, irritated at having their court taken up with these trivialities, and always glad of a chance of attacking the Jews, set upon Sosthenes, the "chief" of the synagogue in succession to Crispus—if that was really an office and not just an honorific title—and beat him actually in sight of Gallio's tribunal, the amiable Roman could not feel the least interest in that sort of thing (Acts xviii 13-17).

All the same, Paul will have felt that his stay in Corinth had been far from profitless, and he remained in Corinth "a considerable time," probably till the early spring of 53. Aquila and Priscilla had resolved to settle at Ephesus, and they all of them sailed together, and Paul just introduced himself to the Jewish community there, but could not stay, despite their urgency. He had, say the Acts, puzzlingly, "shaved his head" at Cenchreae, the harbour of Corinth, "for he had a vow," and, adds the western text in Acts xiii 21, "I must at all costs go to Jerusalem to keep the approaching feast." What was this vow? Not the "nazirite" vow, for this consisted in letting the hair grow long, for the space of at least a month, and then cutting it in the Temple at Jerusalem; what the vow was we shall presumably never

know; but it is odd to see St Paul not only taking vows, but surrounding them with quaint traditional ritual. Did he actually reach Jerusalem? He certainly went to Caesarea, on the way there or returning, but the same western text says that a revelation bade him refrain from the Holy City. What was the feast he meant to keep there? The Pasch? If so, no wonder he could not spare even a day in Ephesus, for in 53 the Pasch fell on March 22, and the sailing season began only on March 5, and pilgrim boats will not have been swift. Anyhow, he returned by way of Antioch, and thence, with Titus for companion, he went north through the Cilician Gates, and traversed the Galatian district and Phrygia. If, then, we hold that he had evangelized previously the true Galatians of the north, that is where he returned, and from the first chapter of the letter he wrote not very long afterwards to them, one can see that he was already feeling somewhat nervous for their spiritual safety, so passionately did he insist that no doctrine other than his own was to be listened to by them. But after leaving them he descended by the monotonous uplands of north Phrygia, and then through the "Burnt Land"—stretches of ash-coloured rock and earth, with haggard tree-stumps among coagulated lava—he came down to Lydia.

X

"NOT DISCERNING THE LORD'S BODY"

The contrast was violent. The whole country in its very opulence breathed triumphant paganism. Vast ridges of mountain ran out into the sea and prolonged themselves in islands whose names evoked Homer and Sappho and Alcaeus, and were intertwined with the whole of Greek and Asiatic and Persian history. Ancient shrines of Oracle were approached through avenues of archaic seated figures, swaddled in stone drapery that art had not yet learnt to set waving in the wind; and again, the florid decoration of half-orientalized Hellas flaunted its violence and lewdness, or drooped its anæmic grace, at every street corner of great towns that had stood for a decade of centuries where romantically named rivers poured out between the ridges. On the Caicus stood Pergamum, no longer at the crest of its royal glory, but the city of ardent worship, crowned with that enormous altar of Zeus that helped St John, no doubt, to call it later on the very Throne of Satan; (*Princes: Apoc.*, p. 41) on the Hermus, Smyrna, the palace-circled "glory of Asia"; on the Maeander, Miletus, whose irrepressible vitality had from incredibly early days sent colonies over half of the known world, and with them those gay, cynical stories to which it has for ever fixed its name, Milesian. And between these last two cities, Ephesus,

on the Cayster, whose storks already float wailing through the Iliad.

Ephesus was like some marvellously glorified Marseilles. A hundred races jostled elbows round its docks and in its markets and exchanges; more than a millennium before Christ the silver-mines of the Hittites carried down trade there from high central Asia; there, in the sixth century B.C., Croesus adorned the vast temple to the goddess who from immemorial days had been worshipped there—a temple ultimately replaced (after 350 B.C.) by the superb structure that Paul was to watch with what anguished eyes.[1] That temple was a town. In the central shrine stood, behind a blaze of lamps, the statue of the goddess whom the Greeks named Artemis, after their own nature-goddess, that divine huntress who had been the queen of all wild birds and beasts and fish, and the Romans, Diana—a statue swathed up to its many breasts with bands displaying half-savage symbols of the elements, and with human head toweringly crowned. But in the vast courts a whole population was established, by right at least of sanctuary; and between the huts of prostitute and criminal refugee the worshipper mounted to the divine throne. The goddess had her castle there; the Imperial Govern-

[1] Fragments of Croesus's temple, and large parts of the columns of the new one—against which Paul may well have leaned—are now in the British Museum. When Croesus attacked the city the temple was being rebuilt. Ephesus tied a rope from the city-wall to the shrine, thereby consecrating itself as the property of the goddess. Croesus, overawed, presented columns and some golden figures to the unfinished edifice.

ment its palace there; Europe and Asia, Egypt, India, even the unnamed North, tossed their riches into the white and scarlet town, pouring in caravans down the mountains and sailing up the splendid marble-embankmented harbour. To-day reeds shiver and sway over the harbour that slime has filled, and among the ruins of the city men pore over ancient stones and propound their theories.

Paul on arriving at Ephesus found himself involved in a curious situation. He had been anticipated by an Alexandrian Jew called Apollos, a brilliant speaker, learned (no doubt Alexandrian-wise, very subtly, with preferences for allegory) in the Scriptures, and "boiling" with zeal. He went about, Scriptures in hand, talking "about" Jesus and arguing with the Jews. None the less, so inadequate had been, thus far, his instruction that he knew no more than "the baptism of John." He was, one would say, still at the point—or not even there—of the earliest days at Jerusalem, when converts were asked to accept only this—that Jesus was the Messiah, sealed in his resurrection by God; the theme of prophecy; the worker of Messianic miracles. True, those converts were Christianly baptized; but hardly can they have known more of what that meant save that it was "into the name of Jesus" that they were admitted. Aquila and Priscilla had done their best to improve his knowledge; but before Paul's arrival some Corinthians came to Ephesus, and were so struck (according to the excitable, inquisitive Corinthian temperament) with the man's brilliancy — which

eclipsed, one is forced to gather, St Paul's homelier forcefulness—that they carried him off to Corinth, and there, well in his own despite, he was to become a veritable storm-centre (Acts xviii 24-28).

Paul then met about a dozen of the Alexandrian's converts and proceeded to catechize them. "Have you received the Holy Ghost?" "We have not so much as heard that there *is* a Holy Ghost. . . ." Due instruction followed; Paul baptized them, laid his hands on them, and they received that divine gift.[1] Paul then, according to his habit, began to teach in the synagogue; and when the usual trouble arose—that is, in about three months' time—he left that place and sought more freedom. His mornings were spent, as ever, at work. "These hands," he could say later on to the Ephesians, had provided him with all he needed, and he had asked neither gold nor silver nor clothing of them. In fact, without perhaps his knowing it, the gifts had come from himself . . . as his fame increased, the very towels he used, the aprons he wore at his work, were filched from him and carried to the sick, and these relics cured them. . . . The working-day began early, and could finish at eleven. From eleven to six men might rest or amuse themselves. In a Greek world talk was always amusement. Paul hired a lecture-room that belonged to a schoolmaster, Tyrannus, and after

[1] Notice that instruction about baptism must have come now fairly late in the ordinary convert's course; for Apollos was a "catechumen," and exceptionally gifted, and yet had not even been taught about baptism, much less baptized.

the day's lessons were over, there Paul himself lectured to whomso would attend. Strange and restless scene —the dark room opening on the street, the wide blind drawn right across the front, yet so that any who cared could enter, and then leave at will if the lecture bored them . . . at the back of the room Paul, his Scripture-roll before him, explaining to the motley crowd that Jesus was Messiah. In no long time "all Asia" had heard the story. Ephesus became a true headquarters, from which instructed Christians went this way and that evangelizing the valleys (xix 1-10).

The stately edifice of empire rested, even in Rome itself, upon a prehistoric slime, wherein stirred hideously all manner of strange and monstrous things. Through the crannies of the cement they sent up their uncouth mutterings, fetid exhalations, and foul iridescent bubbles. Under all the intellectualism, the scepticism, the refined artistic sophistries, magic continued its obscene and murderous business. Further from the centre it could act more openly, and among the gaudy, exuberant flowers of Asiatic heat it stalked or writhed. Ephesus was noted everywhere for its magicians; possibly they were more innocent where less suppressed. The Acts give no hint of the tearing of entrail from living child, nor of the beastlinesses of Canidia at her work upon the Esquiline. The "Ephesian spells" were probably in the main semi-medicinal: amulet and charm, herbs or dust, the use of names of power, will have served the local wizards for the working of their remunerative

cures. Paul for his miracles used none of these, save, indeed, the Name above all names. So some of the Jewish exorcists (for Jews quite as much as pagans reverted to this business of spell-weaving), and, in particular, the seven sons of a certain noted priest named Skeuas, began to use the formula: "I adjure thee in the name of Jesus, whom Paul preaches." One day two of them addressed thus a man possessed by an evil spirit. "Jesus I know," cried he in his agony, "and Paul I know; but who are you?" And he flung himself upon them, tore the clothes off them, and left them beaten and wounded, and they escaped but with their lives. Panic fell. Many of Paul's converts themselves confessed their practices, brought out their books, piled them in the street, and burned them "to the sum of 50,000 of silver."[1]

It must have been now that news came from Corinth that gave Paul anxiety. He determined to write to the faithful there, and to visit them as soon as possible. He had, indeed, already written to them.[2] They had asked him questions that he had answered—insufficiently it turned out—but now a new matter had arisen. A Corinthian lady called Chloë had informed him that the Corinthians were forming cliques . . . oh! not mere social cliques, but spiritual ones. Apollos had gone there with his neophyte's fervour and his brilliant Alexandrianisms, and people were beginning to say: "*I* follow Apollos." Others

[1] About £180. But what would have been its buying value there? Something enormous (11-20).

[2] 1 Cor. v 9-11 makes this clear.

were loyal. "*I* keep to Paul." Others said: "I hold with Peter"—(Why? Had Peter gone there? Possibly. This may, however, be a belated reflection of the idea that Peter was more conservative in doctrine than St Paul)—while others, one would judge, disgusted with this wrangling, said: "I am just for Christ."

Paul begins with a strange, semi-legal salutation. The Church in Corinth has remained in substance faithful; the witness to Christ has found in them its full warrant, for they possess all Christian gifts, and thus seal its truth. And Christ in his turn will be their warrant against arraignment at the Day of Judgement (1 Cor. i 4-9).

But I warn you, my brethren, that you must all of you speak the same thing, and let there not be schisms among you, but be all of you well-established in the selfsame mind and conviction. I am told that there are quarrels among you. I mean, you are all saying: I am of Paul's view; I, of Apollos's; I hold with Kephas; I, with Christ (10-12).

"Is Christ, then, in fragments?" he cries passionately. "Was Paul crucified for you?"

He thanks God he had not even baptized any of them save Crispus and Gaius, precisely that they might *not* think they had been baptized into Paul's religion. (Ah! he remembers he had baptized the household of Stephanas, but he cannot recall anyone else.) He left the baptizing to others. *His* special task had been to preach—yes, and the Gospel, not

a philosophy, a "wisdom," but the Cross and what it meant, and nothing else (13-17).

Should anyone think, he continues, that this is "folly" (at least compared, though he is too charitable to *say* this, to the high flights of Apollos), well, it is God's folly. Not the Greek philosopher, not the Hebrew scribe learned in legalisms, have succeeded in saving the world. The Jews ask for "signs," the Greeks for subtle argument.

But we, we preach Christ crucified: to the Jews, a thing to stumble at; to the Greeks, mere folly; but to us who are called, whether Jew or Greek, Christ the Power of God, and the Wisdom of God. For, "wiser than men is God's folly, and stronger than men, his weakness" (18-25).

He reminds them how they are themselves not on the whole philosophers—not powerful people—not any too well-born; and lest they should resent this, he recalls how he himself, when he came among them, was sick and nervous, and talked no philosophy, but just the Gospel, and how God's power in him went guarantee for this. Not but what he did and does preach a "wisdom," a heavenly philosophy, to those who are spiritually mature, though it is by no means the philosophy of those who at present are powerful in the world, and indeed, *they* are being "brought to nothing." "Rather is it *God's* wisdom that we speak"—a wisdom enshrined in a mystery—a hidden wisdom that God has devised from eternity for our own glory, and that not one of the rulers

of this world has come to know; if they had, they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory (26-ii 8).

No, the things, precisely, that eye has *not* seen, nor ear heard, but which God has revealed to us, are those that we preach. God's Spirit in man can indeed investigate those mysteries; just as the human spirit is proportionate to understanding humanity, so God's Spirit, freely given to us, probes *even* the deep things of God. But this is heavenly, not earthly, "philosophical" lore. A mere "intellectualist" cannot accept such supernatural doctrine; it seems nonsense to him. He applies a different standard, test, touchstone. The "supernaturalized" man can test all things, but himself can be tested by none (9-16).

But the "meat" of this lofty doctrine Paul had not been able to give to the Corinthians; they were mere children. Nay, they still are, since they have all this rivalry and sheltering of themselves under noted names—Paul, Apollos. Oh, what is Paul? what is Apollos? Just servants, just the instruments through which the Corinthians gained their faith. Paul planted, Apollos watered, but the growth came from *God!* We co-operate with God. "You are God's tillage, God's building" (iii 1-9).

"I, like a good architect, laid a foundation." Another may raise the super-edifice. By all means but let him look *how* he builds. As for the foundation, there is clearly only one—Christ. But *on Christ* a man may build good stone or stubble. The day shall come when each man's building shall be tested as by fire; if it survives, he shall have his

reward; if the builder have intended well, but his work have been bad, he shall see it burn, but himself shall be saved out of the midst of the flames (10-15).

Yes. As Christ is the foundation, what is built upon it must simply be Christ's temple.

"Do you not know that you are a temple of God, and that the Spirit of God is dwelling in you?" . . . Let none be tricked. Never spoil that temple. Human sophistries do thus spoil it. Leave them alone, and all too-human views—flattering views that never can tell you, even so, how rich you are! "*All* things are yours, be it Paul or Apollos or Kephas, be it world or life or death or the present or the future; all things are yours, and you, Christ's, and Christ, God's" (16-23).

Realize that *we* are nothing more than Christ's servants—dispensers of God's mysteries. All that is asked of such a one is that he be faithful (not, that he be brilliant). And of that fidelity only God is judge—not you, nor any human person—why, I dare not judge myself, though my conscience is clear. . . . God judges, God rewards (iv 1-5).

I apply all this to myself and to Apollos. We ought not to boast, but neither should you! For you possess nothing, after all, that you have not *received.*

But perhaps you have already had your fill—made your money . . . you can be kings without *me*. . . . And, ah! would that you *were* thus kings, that I might come and be king along with you. I feel as though God had exhibited us Apostles, the last

of men, creatures dedicated to death, a play for men and world and angels to behold! We, fools for the sake of Christ; you, the prudent Christians! We, feeble, and you, the strong ones; you, honourable, we, despised. Up to this very hour we go hungry and thirsty and naked, and are struck and hustled and labour and toil with our own hands. We are abused, and we speak kindly; are persecuted, and are patient; are cursed, and we encourage; are made the very off-sweepings of the world, the scum of all things, to this very day (8-13).

He recovers himself. The Apostle, sick at the sight of Corinth sacrificing the divine knowledge for human intellectualism, had looked back at himself with, so to say, the world's eyes, and had seen how contemptible, to those eyes, must the apostolic life have seemed. Neither the glory of the Jew, nor of the Greek, belonged to that stripped service. But he recovers himself. He is not writing thus to hurt them; just as his most dear children is he counselling them. Yes, he is their father, and though they may have ten thousand servants to take them to Christ's school, yet he alone had fathered them. That is why he had sent them his very dear companion Timothy, to tell them about him and remind them till he could come himself. Some had presumed on his *not* coming, to exalt themselves . . . well, on coming, he would have knowledge, not of their arguments, but their power. God's kingdom was power—not arguments. Was he, then, to come rod in hand, or in gentleness? (14-21).

But the mention—almost playful, certainly no

more than tenderly austere—of the rod reminds Paul that he must use it now if he is not to bring it when he comes. A Christian at Corinth was living in open sin with his stepmother. Jewish and Roman Law and public opinion all vetoed any such connection. Paul had already written that till the man put himself right they were to have nothing to do with him. He had not done so. Paul now announces the strange and terrible decision to "give him over to Satan, unto the destruction of the flesh, that his spirit be saved in the day of the Lord."[1]

Does this mean that Paul's earlier command had been a negative one: Do not seek or accept his company? but now a positive one: Evict him, should he present himself among you! Yet it is hard to see how this excommunication would do anything save drive the man to apostasy and despair. His reason, however, is clear. It is Paschal-tide, when unleavened bread was used. . . . Well, recall how a little leaven leavens the whole mass. You are the unleavened bread to serve at the feast of Christ who is slain as your Pasch-sacrifice. None of the old leaven of sinful Corinth must find its way into you. You cannot afford contact with impurity (v 1-8).

But, the desperate Corinthians might ask, how *can* we avoid it? Ah, Paul resumes, "avoid, I mean, the

[1] Parallels from pagan rituals can be quoted to this phrase. Tablets were inscribed with the name of the person whom you "bound" to the gods, for example, of Hades. "Daemon of the Dead," we find, "I deliver unto thee N., in order that . . ." and "I will bind her in fellowship with Hekaté and the Goddesses of Vengeance."

sinful *Christian;*" had you to avoid the others, you would have to leave the very world itself . . . (9-13).

But this reminds him; one contact with the world the Christians of Corinth disgracefully permit themselves. Not only they offend one against the other, but they go to law with one another before pagan judges! Is there *no* wise man among you, says St Paul rather sharply to these "cultured" people, who can act as arbitrator? It is a scandal that you Christians, whose faith is to be the test and standard of the whole world, should ask a pagan to judge between you. You ought to prefer to be robbed! Surely all such ill-doing, which once was co-natural to you, is now done with? (vi 1-11).

He returns after this parenthesis to his previous subject, and sets before them the true ideal of purity and its best motive. Food is for the body, but the body itself is from and for God. For God, and therefore for no wanton! For God and yet God himself, on his side, is *for* the very body. For just as God raised Christ, so shall he raise us, our very bodies. Again, such is our union with Christ that *we* are *his* body, his very limbs. "Shall I then take Christ's limbs," cries Paul in all his terrible realism, "and make them the limbs of a harlot?" Shall that union, which so belies the true one, be for a moment tolerated? And again: so to sin is to sin against one's *own* body, and that body is nothing less than the temple of the Holy Ghost. And at a price, the price of Christ's blood, have we been ransomed! So, by prostituting our body, against the whole Trinity

and against Christ incarnate and crucified, do we sin (12-20).

Under stress of such doctrine, or a prey to one of those violent reactions to asceticism to which not ancient nor Corinthian sensuality alone was liable, they had written to ask him whether it might not then be better to abstain from marriage altogether. The general answer is : Celibacy (for Christ's sake, he always implies) is noble. But marriage carries with it a mutual debt of justice, and within it you must live normally, though abstinence is permissible, by mutual agreement, for a given period and for spiritual motives. "I do not impose any such abstinence, though I counsel it, and tell you my opinion and wish that all men were like me. But people differ in temperament and in grace. I repeat, celibacy is the better, but marriage is also better than incontinence. But it is God, not merely I, who commands that the married should remain together, or, should they separate, that they must not marry again, but, if possible, be reconciled. If a Christian be married to a pagan—this is my view, not the Lord's command—let them live together if they can do so peaceably. If the pagan deserts, the other is not bound. Thus I order everywhere. But the Christian wife or husband may convert the other, and the children will be Christians. So, if you can, stay as you are. This is a quite general principle. If you are not circumcised, stay as you are. If you are called to be a slave—well, never mind, though if you get the chance of freedom, profit by it. A slave is after all Christ's

freedman, just as the free are slaves of Christ. You have been *ransomed*—all you must *not* be is a slave (in soul) to man.

"As for those who are still unmarried, I have no divine command, but I think I am right before God. Once more, stay as you are. If you are married, seek no divorce. If not, seek no wife. If a man gives his daughter in marriage he does no wrong; but the married have trouble in this life, and the present and imminent chaos are such that it were well to be—not only as though celibate, though married, but in the very world as though not in it. The married are apt to be absorbed in domestic cares; you want all your time and mind for pleasing God! Yes, if a man is worried about his daughter, let him marry her to someone; he does well. But if a man is a man of self-possession and master of his choices, and does not marry her, he does better. A widow may remarry, provided the man is a Christian; still, she is happier if she remain as she is. This, I think, is the Christian spirit" (vii).

It is here that Paul explains the casuistry of eating sacrificial food (viii-x), which has been already related (p. 61 *sqq.*). It is interesting to note that "All things are licit to me, but not all things are expedient," was clearly a favourite phrase of his. He keeps repeating it here, and had to warn the Corinthians (above, vi 12) that it did not mean that they were free from every bodily restriction. True, the body was a transitory thing, like food itself, and, so far as eating went, there were no absolute rules to be laid down. But when it was a question of chastity, that

was quite a different matter. It was this topic that made him here recollect that the Corinthians had told him that with regard to certain instructions of his, concerning behaviour during religious services, they were behaving properly. One of his regulations was that women should veil their heads in church. Probably we shall never make this passage even quite intelligible to us, let alone harmonize it with our modern taste. As usual, St Paul heaps up reasons of the most varied sorts. "Nature," says he, "has given us a hint; women's hair is long—that is a sort of natural veil." (He had not yet gone to Rome, else he might have noticed that the courtesans there were made to shave their heads and wear wigs. But some similar custom may underlie his appeal to public opinion.) "Can you imagine," he asks, "a woman praying to God without a veil?" Exactly: no modest woman would have spoken to a human dignitary unveiled, still less should she to God. That is what he feels. And remember that it was to *Corinthian* ladies that he was speaking. They, above all, had to set an example of discretion. It is his argument that as Christ is the head of the man, so is the man of the woman, that distresses modern equalitarians. He himself adds a safeguard—this is only relatively, socially true: even though woman was created for man, yet man is born through woman, and each, in the long run, is for the other, and both are from God.[1] At the end of xiv he rules that women must

[1] Perhaps the sentence, 10, so enigmatic in seeming, that a woman ought to have power on her head because of the angels,

not speak in church. This "speaking" seems to be not only "prophesying," of which he has been writing, and which we explain in a moment, but any speaking, since he says that if there is something they do not understand, let them wait till they get home to ask about it. St Paul says that "custom" exacts this, and does not base it on theological considerations. Again, recall that the pagan world was on its nerves with regard to sexual matters, and it would have been impossible for Christians themselves to accept with simplicity a prominence of women quite out of keeping with all that they had been accustomed to regard as decent, because retiring, manners (xi 1-16).

How little Paul was dealing with people by instinct law-abiding, can be judged by the Corinthians' behaviour at those meals eaten in common, so frequent among the pagans, and consecrated by early Christianity first (as at Jerusalem) as much from necessity as because of their symbolism of fraternity, and of the commemoration they afforded of the Last Supper, especially as they were at first followed by the celebration of the Eucharist. At Jerusalem, these meals were provided from the common fund; at Corinth, each participant brought with him (a frequent practice, too, in the common meals of pagan

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means that a woman, shorn of her hair, a state to which Paul likens a lack of veil, is as it were disgraced, and a "spectacle" to angels as to men of the wrong sort. I do not think "angels" mean "bishops." Simply he means that the spectacle would be unnatural.

clubs of the poorer class) some food and drink.[1] But when they arrived at the place where the "Agape" was to be held, they made "sets," cliques, real social schisms this time, and some went hungry while others had too much. Paul says: "Haven't you houses of your own for eating and drinking in? You make the poorer ones of your community feel ashamed. You disgrace the Church of God. This is just a picnic, not the *Lord's* Supper." Then quoting, one would say, the traditional account of the institution of the Eucharist, he emphasizes the purity of conscience with which one should approach it. "We make ourselves guilty of the body and blood of Christ if we eat or drink *that* bread and that chalice unworthily—not 'discerning' the body."

It does not occur to Paul to deny that there are differences between persons—nay, these exist even in spiritual things, let alone social. But these are varieties of God-given ways of serving, and should harmonize and co-operate.

There are differences of gifts, but the same Spirit; and different sorts of ministries, but the same Master; and differences in activities, but the same God; and His is the whole activity in all.

Prophecy, interpretation of prophecies, miraculous healings—all are "in" the same Spirit. *All* true supernatural Christian life, in its manifold modes of

[1] I think this is the meaning of "each takes [*i.e.*, brings] his own meal beforehand," not, that each had already eaten at home, which is just what St Paul wants them to do.

energizing, comes from him (xii 1-11). The limbs of the body are many, yet the body is one. So, Christ. "In one Spirit" we have all been baptized into one body. Impossible for a body to consist of one limb only. Impossible for any one of many limbs to isolate itself, to say it has no need of the rest. . . . If one limb suffers, so do all the rest out of sympathy. *You* are "Body-of-Christ"; each of you communicates life to, and draws it from, the rest. Now, in his body, Christ has given to each limb its function. Aspire, if you will, to the nobler functions, the better "gifts," but I will show you a thing that outstrips any of these gifts. . . .

Though I speak with the tongues of men and of angels, but have not charity, I am become mere booming bronze or clattering cymbal.

And if I possess prophecy, and know all mysteries and all the wisdom, and have all the faith so that I may move mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing.

And if I sell all I have, nay, though I give my very body to be burned, but have not charity, I am none the better.

Love is long-suffering; love is kind; love is not jealous, not pretentious, not puffed up; it never flaunts itself, never lowers itself, never grows bitter, imputes no evil. It rejoices not in wrong, but shares in joying in the truth. Love pardons all things, believes all things, hopes all things, endures all things. Love never fails. As for prophecies, they shall become idle; as for tongues, they shall cease; as for knowledge, it too shall become idle. For in fragments do we know, in fragments prophesy; but

when that which is complete is come, that which is but fragments shall be made void. When I was a child, I spoke as a child, I thought as a child, I judged as a child; but when I am become a man, I make void the childish things. For as yet we see but as by means of a mirror, dimly; but *then* face to face: now I know in part, but then I shall know fully, even as fully I am known. Yea, there now abide Faith, Hope, Charity—these three; but the greatest of these is Charity (xiii).

Paul, after this ecstatic, sudden cry and declamation of that supernatural gift of God—of that charity that is the soul of all else that we have or do of good, so that without it the best of human gifts or virtues is as it were dead—according to his habit, seeks to recover himself, and to speak practical things. He had not meant to decry preternatural gifts—though he prefers the gift of prophecy to that of speaking with "tongues"—for that requires the further gift of interpretation, unless I am to remain unintelligible even to myself. . . . At best such a phenomenon may edify the faithful, but prophecy helps the unbeliever too. A pagan, hearing one of us "speak with a tongue," would just think him mad. . . . Let all be done in order, and let each at your meetings play his own due part. If a man feels the gift of tongues coming upon him, if there is an interpreter, well and good; else let him pray in his heart to God. Do not speak while others are speaking. *Desire* prophecy, and do not *prevent* speaking with tongues. If you do not feel any of this applies to you, disregard it (xiv).

The Corinthians had apparently put one last question to Paul concerning the resurrection of the dead. He begins by recalling the fact of Christ's resurrection and the witnesses thereof—"and last of all he was seen by me, as by one born out of due time. . . . For I am the least of the Apostles, who am not fit so much as to be called an Apostle, because I persecuted the Church of God. But by the grace of God I am what I am, and his grace towards me has not been made void" (xv 1-11).

Now Christ's resurrection and ours are indivisibly united. So how *can* there be men among you who deny the resurrection of the dead? He rose *for* our resurrection; so if we do not rise, neither did he. Our preaching is vain, your faith is vain. The dead in Christ will have perished; we shall have hoped in Christ in this life only. "But now *is* Christ raised from the dead, the first-fruit" of those dead. Death itself shall be conquered by his death and resurrection, seeing that at the last he and his faithful shall be glorified together, and all the world shall become his kingdom. (And if there be no after-life, what is the meaning of that practice of some of you—they get themselves baptized by proxy for the dead! And if this life be all, do you think I could suffer what I do on your behalf each day? No. Make no mistake. Some men do not *understand* God!) (12-34).

But, you ask, with what *sort of body* shall we rise? Ah, what a question! The same, and yet how different! Even as there are all manner of seeds, and each is sown in earth, yet comes up how different

from what it was, and yet the same, and according to its kind, so too for us. Glorified, supernaturalized, endued with a *new man*, yet we, our same selves, we shall rise. But suppose at the last we be not dead, but Christ come first? Well, even so, in an instant, in the twinkling of an eye, our change shall come. No need for the gradual falling to pieces of our human body, but every need of its glorification by God, to fit it for its new state! Thanks be to God who gives to us this victory over death (35-58).

Paul then begs them to collect for the poor Christians of Jerusalem. Let each set aside week by week what he can, so that there may be no discussions when Paul arrives, for he hopes to reach them after going through Macedonia and to spend the whole winter at Corinth. He remains at Ephesus till Pentecost, for "a great door" has been opened for him there. He will have plenty of work and opposition. As for the alms, they shall elect men to take them to Jerusalem. Paul will add letters of recommendation, and go too if they like. He tells them that in no way must Timothy be slighted should he visit them, nor yet Apollos, who was positively afraid to go back to Corinth. And with some individual salutations the letter closes (xvi).

Parts of this letter will call for further notice. On the other hand, we may at once glance at another letter Paul wrote to the Corinthians, though it was not sent till after he had left Ephesus. A one-sided correspondence is always difficult fully to understand, and Paul had evidently been hearing from the

Corinthians that criticism of his methods had been sharp. None the less, his opening sentences are full of the most gentle affection and generosity. He is glad when he suffers—it teaches him how to sympathize; he is grateful for God's consolations—they shall teach him, too, how to console. He assures them that his recent dangers in Asia had been extreme: he had been all but killed; he had stared death in the face; but God had, as ever, saved him, thanks in part, surely, to the Corinthians' prayers (i 1-11).

The Corinthians must have been saying that he was inconstant or even insincere. His conscience tells him, and they really know quite well, that he is *not*. He is what his letters and their knowledge of him tell them that he is (12-14).

In particular, he is not inconstant. He changed his plans about coming first to them, and then going to Macedonia and returning, only after due deliberation. His life has not been "yes—no," but has been like the promises of God—a faithful *yes*, sealed in the person of Christ himself and in ours, who reap his promises and have the abiding pledge of his Spirit (15-22). His reason for not coming to them first was that he might spare them. He would have had to come with severity. . . . His earlier severe letter was meant to make that unnecessary (i 23-ii 4). And so it had proved. Even though the Corinthians had not been unanimous on the point of the sinner he had excommunicated, yet the majority had condemned him. Now he may be pardoned. Satan must not triumph. Paul had had no rest till

he left the Troad, where he was, for Macedonia, found Titus, who was on his way back from Corinth itself, and was reassured (5-13).

He proceeds to insist upon his sincerity, excusing himself for thus singing his own praise—nor need he; the Corinthians themselves are his best recommendation (ii 14–iii 3). The Apostolate in itself is so glorious that it exacts and wins sincerity! Even Moses' mission was a glorious one—how much more so ours! Moses had to veil his face when speaking to the people; the Apostles wear no veil! The spirit of God is one of liberty. Christians are gradually transformed by it till they can contemplate God himself face to face; meanwhile, disguises are not necessary, and if anyone finds the Christian preaching obscure, that is the fault of his faithlessness, not of the preacher (iii 14–iv 6).

What though we be but frail vessels to contain so great a treasure? Let all men see that the overflowing power in us is from God, not ourselves!

Bruised, but not crushed; dismayed, yet not despairing; hunted, yet not fainting; stoned, but not slain—ever bearing about in our very body the killing of the Lord Jesus, so that the life of Jesus may be revealed in this our dying flesh! . . . Therefore, play we not the coward; but even though our outward man be being worn away, yet from day to day our inner self is being renewed, for the trivial anguish of the moment works out for us overwhelmingly, overwhelmingly, an eternal weight of glory, for we look not on things visible, but on things unseen. The visible endureth but for an hour; the unseen is eternal (7-18).

No wonder, then, that we, in this our earthly home of flesh, yearn to put on our heavenly dwelling-place, that what is mortal in us may be swallowed up by life! Towards that God is indeed working, and thereof has given us his Spirit for pledge. Hence we have courage, even in our exile. . . . But oh! to reach our home. . . . Yes, whether here, or there, we strive to be well-pleasing to the God before whom we shall all stand. How, then, *not* be sincere? (v 1-11).

Again he recalls to himself that this will sound like boasting. . . . Let it. Better to speak thus openly than to hold who knows what thoughts in secret! Anyhow, it is the love of Christ that has him in thrall, and to *him* Paul lives, not to men. Of *merely* human love for men, knowledge of men, he wills to have none at all. Even if in some mysterious way he might so far have known Christ himself too humanly, not so now.

If a man be *in Christ*—lo! a new creature. The old things have passed by: see, they are made new And all this from God, who has reconciled us to himself through Christ, and has granted to me the ministry of that reconciliation. God was in Christ, reconciling the world to himself, and not reckoning up its sins against it; and in me has he set the preaching of that reconciliation. On Christ's behalf, then, I come as ambassador, as though through me God himself were urging you. On Christ's behalf I implore—reconcile yourselves to God, who made him, who knew no sin, to be sin for us, that we, in him, might become the righteousness of God (v 11–vi 1).

He traces, almost more as though to remind himself what he should be than to tell them what he is, the picture of the true Apostle, and then cries: Frankness? sincerity? Surely he has laid his very soul bare before them; let them put up with him; for the rest, even in his severities, he has done no man among them harm (vi 2–vii 4).

He then briefly recalls his intense anxiety about them, and how he could not rest till he had seen Titus, and how Titus had consoled him. He was not even now sorry that his previous letter had hurt them: the hurt came from love, and did but heal (vii 5-16).

In the second part of his letter he urges on them the collection for Jerusalem. The Macedonians had done marvels—far beyond their means—in collecting. Corinth was always to the front . . . let her be so in this matter too. Not that he is issuing orders . . . nor that they must strip themselves for the sake of others—but, well, Christ for our sakes became poor; and the manna in the wilderness was so distributed that no man had too much while another lacked. . . . And let them receive well his messengers (viii). Paul could not bear to come to Corinth, especially with Macedonian companions, to whom he has kept boasting that the Corinthians have been collecting ever since last year. If they had *not* done well, he could never face the humiliation. That is why he sends those men ahead. He wants to have no discussions on arriving (ix 1-6.) Moreover, while they owe God a *debt* of gratitude, let them not think he

will regard their gifts *as* debts, but will repay a thousand times (7-15).

Here the letter takes so abrupt a turn that it has even been argued that two fragments of letters have been stuck together.[1] Quite likely some news of further perfidious criticism reached him from Corinth. In some way or other his authority was being attacked. Elsewhere, we shall see, false apostles followed in Paul's footsteps, and their heterodox *doctrine* has its echo in his writings: here it is some attack on his personal position that he is resenting. We have already quoted part of this chapter (p. 50, n.). Paul implores the Corinthians, through the gentleness of Christ, not to force him to use, when face to face with them, that sternness which is felt in his letters. "His letters," someone has been saying, "are terrible; but personally he is despicable" (x).

"Put up with my folly on your behalf," he cries. "I am jealous for you . . . I want to hand you over to our Lord like some inviolate maiden to her spouse. Be not seduced, as Eve was, by the serpent! They have no other gospel, no other Christ to offer you. And if their gift is no better than what I gave, neither is the person of those who offer it" (xi 1-6.) Had it been made a ground of offence that he had

[1] Clearly this book does not admit of arguing a point like this. I can but say that I hold for certain that both our epistles, 1 and 2 Cor., are by Paul; that the "severe" letter, to which he alludes in 2, is, at least probably, that which we know as 1 Cor.; and that if we are allowed to suppose Paul did not write or dictate his letters at a stretch, nothing makes impossible the belief that 2 Cor. is one continuous letter, and that the person mentioned in 2 Cor. v 10 is the incestuous man of 1 Cor.

been so humble, so self-supporting, among them? Quite true! He plundered other churches lest he should tax them. When he had found himself in want, at Corinth, it was from Macedonia that he accepted help. "You say, 'Then I don't love or trust you.' . . . Ah! God knows . . . Ah! I wanted to make certain that the false apostles who should tempt you should not be *like me*—they can, like Satan himself, disguise themselves like angels; but in *that*, in my poverty, you will see they will not imitate me (7-15). I am afraid you will think I am speaking wildly—well, put up with it. I shall boast! I shall compare myself deliberately to those men. I am a Jew, in the fullest sense, no less than they are. And as for sufferings for Christ . . .

In labours more abundantly; in floggings more abundantly; in prisons far beyond them; often in peril of my death. By the Jews five times have I been scourged; thrice beaten with rods; once stoned; thrice shipwrecked; night and day have I spent upon the sea; in constant journeys, in dangers of river, of robbers, from my own people, from the pagans, in cities, in the desert, on the sea, from false brethren, in labour and in toil, in constant vigils, by hunger and thirst, in constant fasting, in coldness and nakedness. All this apart from what bears heavy on me each several day—the care for all the churches. [And if boast I must] I will turn to visions and divine revelations. I know one of Christ's men—fourteen years ago—whether in the body, I know not; or out of the body, I know not—God knows—well, I knew such a one snatched up to the third heaven. . . . And know of this man—though whether in the body or

out of the body, I know not—God knoweth . . . who was rapt into Paradise and heard speech unspeakable, what no human tongue can utter. Over such a one will I boast, but as for myself, boast will I not, save in my infirmities. Yet should I choose to boast, I shall not be mad, for I should but speak sooth. . . . But I restrain myself, lest a man should esteem me beyond . . . what he can see in me, or hear from me. Yes, lest I be puffed up by the excess of revelations, there was given me a thorn for my flesh, an angel of Satan's, to buffet me. Thrice I begged the Lord that it should leave me. But he said to me: "My grace suffices for thee. For strength is made perfect in weakness." Most gladly, then, will I boast of my infirmities, that the strength of Christ may spread its tent over me. . . . When I am weak, *then* am I strong. Ah, yes! I have gone mad. But it is you who have forced me to (xi 16-xii 11).

"No, you have nothing to reproach me with but my and my messengers' disinterestedness. Well, I pray that when I come I shall find you as I hope. For I am determined to act with severity if need be. Examine your consciences: I write thus, that you may do so, and that I may spare you" (xii 12-xiii 10).

He ends with a very brief farewell.

Such is this curious correspondence, so far as it survives, with Corinth. It leaves in the imagination a picture of which, inevitably, I suppose, the unattractive details are high-lit, while what really made Paul happy, and was therefore the more truly Christian, shows only by its reflection on himself. Thus, his converts are true Corinthians—men of a volatile city that voted statues, made of its beautiful bronze,

to a man whose very name it had, in a year or two, forgotten; and as for the statue, it had been pulled down long ago, and the metal, doubtless, used for the next effigy by the commercial-minded town. Within a month Corinthian Christians were split into at least four sets! "Paul was dull, but just listen to Apollos! Paul is very untrustworthy; oh, for the prudent Peter! Have done with these wranglings and Athenian disputes, let us go back to the origin of things, and stay there! . . ." And the purse-proud cannot put up with the mean fish and olives and thin wine of the slave at love-feasts; and the same folk are all scruples as to what they may eat or may not; they consort with incest, and then surmise it might be better not to marry at all; they doubt the resurrection, and again, baptize the living by proxy for the dead. They are filled with ecstasies, and men and women prophesy turn by turn, and even simultaneously, in the assemblies, and they cannot bestir themselves to collect for suffering brethren. No wonder Paul could not so much as sleep because of them. But behind and within all that, what true good will, what spirit of prayer; without any doubt what loyalty, since the sincere Apostle writes nowhere else in terms of such affection and gratitude as of his Corinthians.

And so the second picture we receive is of Paul himself . . . a unique picture. Who, from the reticent Acts, would have guessed that already his adventures had been so fierce and varied—the shipwrecks, the floggings? What must we not multiply into what we have so far been hearing of him? We

might indeed have realized his endurance; that he was impervious to the fatigues of the road; that he had hardships now and again from his opponents to put up with; that these at times rose to the level of persecution, and that he knew prison and scourge and stoning: but these have seemed mere incidentals compared to the normal tempest of his life that the second letter to the Corinthians displays in one of those rare jets of spontaneous literature which, as here, and as when the wings of his soul spread wide and he hymns charity, rise steady and bright through the tangle of his sentences. Who would have dared, from the brief mention hitherto of "revelations" and warnings from God's Spirit, to have surmised those rapts and ecstasies that swept him into the ineffable vision? Here, too, we learn of that humiliating, incapacitating illness (surely) and all those physical disabilities of which he was so conscious, and made him feel so handicapped. The first sight of Paul must always have been a bitter disappointment. As to his character, which from these Epistles we learn to know still better, we speak of that below. Meanwhile, it is with awe we contemplate this man whose nights were ecstasy, whose evenings were prayer and preaching, whose weary afternoons were spent in lecture-rooms, plodding through the Scriptures, rehearsing the strange arguments, and whose long mornings went in the work he was so faithful to, winning in it all that hate that made his life precarious, and the love that stole, for relics, the very aprons that he wore as he sat working. . . .

XI

TO THE GLORY OF GRACE

In the midst of all this the month Artemision (April-May) had come round. It was entirely dedicated to the Ephesian goddess. From all over the province pilgrims streamed into the city, and even came from distant parts to see the incomparable celebrations in honour of Artemis. Processions patrolled the streets, carrying her shrines or images; masked devotees took part in symbolic dramas at once crude and mystical; the theatres were filled for pantomime and athletics; a fierce trade in objects of piety was pushed forward, and the vast floating population needed for the entertainment of the devotees and tourists—a world of charioteers, lodging-house keepers, food-vendors, cheap-jacks, and mountebanks—added to the enormous licentiousness of Ephesus.

Another light on Paul's influence. His preaching had actually interfered with the image trade. . . . The riot began in the tradesmen's quarter. Demetrius, a silversmith, harangued his guild to the effect that Paul was not only blasphemous, but doing them financial harm, preaching as he did that the traditional gods were nothing, and that their images might accordingly be dispensed with. They all began to shout: "Great is Artemis of Ephesus." The whole city became full of uproar, and the crowds began to stream, as by instinct, up the long boulevard that

climbed to the vast theatre. Two Macedonians, friends of Paul, were swept along with them. Paul, you may imagine, could not see them go without wishing to go too; but his companions (among whom, most interestingly, we hear there were some "Asiararchs"—officers, that is, of the Imperial Roman cult, not yet at enmity with the Christian Faith) would not hear of it. He must not trust himself to the theatre. In fact, the whole town was in confusion, some shouting one thing, some another, and as for the theatre crowd, "the most part did not so much as know," writes St Luke, with sudden humorous sarcasm, "why they had come together." However, a Jew, Alexander, who had been thrust forward to speak,[1] was no sooner perceived to *be* a Jew, than the entire theatre yelled, for two hours without intermission, "Great is Artemis of Ephesus."

When they ceased, exhausted, the city secretary—he acted as link between the city and the Roman Government, and managed the public finances, convened and presided at its assemblies, and was, in fact, a person of great practical importance—stood up and made a dignified and soothing speech. The whole human race was aware that the city of Ephesus was the sacristaness of the great Artemis and of the image that fell from heaven. This was indisputable. So they must do nothing rash. The two Macedonians had been guilty neither of sacrilege nor blasphemy. If Demetrios had a charge to make, there were the

[1] By whom? Fr. Prat suggests his compatriots, anxious to clear themselves from any connection with St Paul.

official courts. If it was anything else, there were the regulation city assemblies. Let them use these. Else we run the risk of getting into trouble for riot over to-day's work, for no reason whatsoever exists that we shall be able to allege for our having come together like this. . . . So they all went home again (Acts xix 23-41).

But it may well be imagined that Ephesus was now no place for Paul. What the mob in the theatre could not do, a dagger in a dark street might. He had for some time proposed to revisit Greece, and to pass through Macedon, and thus to reach Jerusalem, after which, he added, "I must see Rome too" (Acts xix 21). This was when he could not resign himself to wait in the Troad for Titus bringing news from Corinth, but crossed into Macedonia and met him there, and wrote 2 Corinthians. Then he went on to Corinth, spent three months there, and was just starting on a pilgrim boat to Jerusalem in March, 57, when he heard of a plot of the Jews—in the crowded ship a murder would be easy; a man might go overboard at any moment and few be the wiser—and turned back through Macedonia in order to come thus once more into the Troad. Luke was with him, and gives a list of his companions at this point. But these companions Paul shipped across to Troy to wait for him there, remaining with Luke at Thessalonika over Easter. Then they sailed from Philippi, and had a bad crossing, taking five days over a trip that should have taken two. So they had but a week at Troy. It was here that the incident of Eutychus

occurred. Luke is not a naïve writer, and it is impossible not to detect a smile when he says that one night Paul went on talking in a very hot room on the second floor till that young man, who was sitting on the window-sill, was overwhelmed with sleep and fell out. He was taken up dead. But Paul, embracing him, said, "Do not be troubled; his soul is yet in him"; and thereon continued to talk till dawn, after celebrating the Agapé. "And as he went out they brought the boy alive, and they were mightily consoled" (xx 1-12).

Before leaving Corinth, however, he had written his great letter to the Romans, and before that, probably while still at Ephesus, that to the Galatians.[1]

[1] We consider it practically proved that Paul wrote *Romans* during this second visit to Corinth. Now *Galatians* stands to that Epistle if not exactly as a rough draft, at least as a spontaneous letter, evoked by the fierce need of particular people at a particular moment, stands to a well-thought-out and ordered document treating of the same theme at length and with general principles adequately disengaged from circumstances. We do not think it can have been written very long—perhaps not more than a month or two—before *Romans*. Moreover, since it suggests that everything that concerned the Galatians had moved very fast—both their conversion and their relative apostasy—it becomes far more difficult to suppose it was written to those "South Galatians" whom Paul had evangelized so long ago. In fact, those who suppose it does, are practically forced to put its composition back to a date long before this—even, as some do, to make it the very first of Paul's letters, before even *Thessalonians*. We said at the outset that we cannot in a book like this discuss such questions; we have at least the consolation of knowing that antiquity always held (1) that Paul evangelized the true Galatians of the north, and (2) that he wrote this letter to them at about this time and probably just before he left Ephesus. What, then, had been happening to the Galatian mountaineers? It seems certain that this group of immigrants had retained their national characteristics to no

Ancient writers, Caesar himself and others, insist on the mobile mentality of the Gauls, always in love with novelties. They hang to the lips of any new philosopher like steel to magnet; surround any chance visitor or pedlar and demand the latest gossip; surpass the Greeks themselves in curiosity and credulity, and, what is more, take practical decisions along of information thus received, and are sorry the moment afterwards. St Jerome says that the Galatians talk almost as they do at Trèves, and he had been at both—Trèves and the Galatian capital, Ancyra. And, indeed, the "dying Galatian" displays a marked and vigorous type, clearly based on life. The fact is that Paul's Galatians were displaying an instability that seemed to him the effects of a veritable witchcraft. Men had come who told them that Paul's authority was comparatively worthless. He was a mere delegate of those great men whom Christ himself had formed, whom he set to be columns in his Church, beyond whose doctrine Paul was not entitled to move a step. These Apostles, it was urged, so far from regarding the Law as abolished, observed it in detail, or at the minimum, circumcision. Paul, then, had no right not to impose it—in fact, from time to time he

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small degree. Frankly, we have been tempted to wonder whether French authors have not been disposed to insist on the North Galatian theory because it gives them the chance of connecting the Galatians with their own country! It is certain that one German writer turns these Celts into Teutons, so as to have the joy of explaining how the German Luther found at once an affinity with this epistle in which the nationality of the recipients had somehow conditioned the thought and style of St Paul.

did so, and thus vacillated in his own behaviour. Remember Timothy! Moreover, to whom did God make his promises? To Abraham. The Messiah was Abraham's heir. But God had established circumcision as the very mark whereby the spiritual sons of Abraham were to be distinguished. However truly, then, the pagans were to be admitted by Christ into Abraham's sonship, clearly they must accept the exterior sign thereof and be circumcised. Further, Abraham was the typically righteous man. No one could expect salvation without practising righteousness! But God himself had codified that righteousness in the Mosaic Law. Therefore converts must observe the Law, and establish a beautiful unbroken chain between themselves, Christ, Moses, Abraham, and God. And the Galatians were finding themselves reduced at least to circumcision, if not to all the rest of the Mosaic ordinances.[1]

But we hold that this *was* the only "mitigation" that the new evangelists admitted; nor was it a strange one, since the ordinary Jew, and Peter himself (Acts xv 10), and, in fact, all save the extremest Pharisee, allowed that the Law could not be observed in detail, and was not. But the true Jew did insist that it was, in the bulk and in the matter of circumcision in particular, necessary for salvation. Therefore we do not agree that, first, St James and the Jerusalem Christians taught that the Law was, if

[1] We think, not to "all." For Paul emphatically says they must be logical. If circumcision be necessary to salvation, so must the rest of the Law be.

never the *source* of salvation, at least its indispensable condition for the ex-Jew (that they thought it was a good thing for him is obvious, since they practised it themselves), and at least a counsel of perfection for the ex-pagan, and finally, that this and no more is what the new arrivals were teaching the Galatians. There is no hint whatsoever that James or any other genuine Christian at Jerusalem or anywhere else taught that the Law was suitably, piously observed by ex-pagans; and it is really clear that the Galatian visitors taught that it was more than that—that it was, in fact, necessary. Conceivably, too, they were men who, while ready to sacrifice many of the details of the Mosaic Law, were not averse to adding counsels of asceticisms such as we find later on recommended by other adversaries of St Paul; but we speak briefly of that below. Paul's letter has the most definite practical aim of persuading the Galatians that the Gospel he had preached to them, which left the Law entirely to one side, was the sole genuine one. "Do not exchange your Christian liberty for Jewish slavery! I preached the true Gospel. To superimpose Jewish observance would be to alter it essentially. Nor is there need to—the Gospel is the source of all spiritual good." Such is his theme.

In his salutation he presents himself almost defiantly as "Apostle, not from men, or by means of men," but through Christ and from God; and no less defiantly he states, on Christ's behalf, Christ's work; he has snatched us out of the evil world by his death, and in no other way (i 1-5). I am astounded, he

goes on, that you are so swiftly being shifted across from the Gospel I preached into another, though it does not profess to be *other;* it still gives itself for Christianity, but it is different. Though I, though an angel from heaven, preached anything alongside of what I *have* preached—a curse be on him! *Now* am I playing the shifty opportunist, the time- and person-server? *I* am *Christ's* slave! (6-10).

I hold my faith and my mission, he cries, straight from God. Neither at nor after my conversion did I learn aught from men. And when I told Peter and the older Christians about myself, they found nothing save what to praise God for (11-24). When, after a long time, I *did* go back to Jerusalem, no submission was asked of me, no authority exercised as against me. Titus, a Greek, who was with me, was not forced to be circumcised. One and all, they gave me the right hand of fellowship, acknowledging that my special vocation was to evangelize the pagans. When Peter himself did not act according to his own doctrine, I withstood him in the interests of truth and unity and liberty, and won my case (ii 1-14). Paul passes from this historical retrospect to his argument by a sentence that quite literally melts out of his words to Peter into his personal ecstatic recognition of Christ's life within him. We have believed in Christ, he is saying, so as to win from *him* our justification, and for that have thrown aside any hopes of justification through the Law. If, then, Christ has *not* justified us, he is nothing less than a minister to sin, since he is responsible for our throwing away the Law and *yet*

has left us sinners. But *that* is a thought mentioned only to be scouted. No, I will not build up again what I have pulled down. The Law itself taught me to transcend itself; "I died to it, that I may live to God. With Christ am I co-crucified; I live, *I* no longer, but *Christ* is living in me." Such life on this earth as yet is mine, is wrapped up in the faith in the Son of God who loved me and gave himself for me. No! I will not cancel out that free grace of God! If the Law is to save me, Christ died for nothing (ii 16-21).

Who had *bewitched* the Galatians? Paul had simply placarded Christ crucified before them, and their experience had proved his power. They had received the Spirit, and that without mention of the Law! (iii 1-5). And this response of faith suffices to make them true sons of Abraham without more ado (6-9). The Law? "It is," cries Paul with terrible audacity, "a reign of curse. For none can obey it"; yet, "Accursed is he," says Deuteronomy, "who does not adhere to all that is written in the Book of the Law, and do it." Christ bought us right out of that curse's power, by himself becoming "accursed" for our sake, and it is in him that the blessing given to Abraham reaches us (10-14).

So startling an assertion demanded explanation. What really *is*, then, the relation between Abraham and Moses? between promise and legislation? Well, anyhow the Law cannot override the promise. To use human analogies, says St Paul quite frankly, the Promise is like a will. It is absolute. It cannot be

set aside; no later codicils can be appended. And it was made out in favour of the seed of Abraham, that is, Christ. Well, the Law, coming 430 years later, a bilateral contract, made through an intermediate, angelic ministry, clearly cannot contain what the promise, and it alone, supplies. The *Law* cannot either contain or give justification. Nay, by its enactments it makes it far more easy for us to sin. Is it then *against* the promises? God forbid. It would be, if it, and not they, provided us with salvation; but it was no more than a temporary institution, a servant whose business it was to lead us to Christ (if only by proving to us, he elsewhere often argues, how impossible it is for us to do all that we should, by ourselves, to save ourselves), so that by identifying ourselves with Christ, putting on his person, we might in him become Abraham's true seed, and inherit what God promised. "You are sons of God by means of your faith in Christ Jesus. All you who have been baptized into Christ, have *put on* Christ. There exists no more Jew nor Greek, there exists no more slave or free man—nay, no more male nor female—all of you are *one person* in Jesus Christ" (15-29).

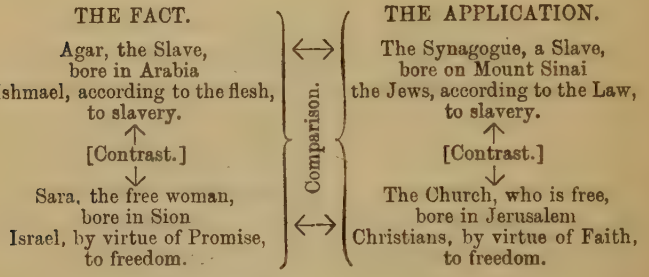
Paul has just touched here upon the doctrine that is to unify all his thought and work—our incorporation with Christ—and *there* is the real Paul! None the less he adopts also these processes of argumentation that are so tied to a time and a way of thinking that we can no more use, and a stranger example still is to be given in a moment. There is no doubt at all but that they appealed to him; but one cannot but

ask, What on earth did the Galatians make of them? For though one can trust to the Holy Spirit to make the sheer truth intelligible to the rudest minds, yet he is not bound to make Rabbinic subtleties appeal to Graeco-Celts, and even in matters of dogma Paul went gently, and did not offer, for example, to the Corinthians, the full richness of the Christian revelation all at once. A little later (iv 20), Paul frankly says he does not feel sure *how* he ought to write to the Galatians, and he wishes he could be seeing them face to face and *talk*. There can be no doubt that he had heard how others had talked to them. The Judaizers had started the topic of Abraham, and must have dazzled the Galatian wits with analogies, allegories, and so forth, and we may be fairly sure that Paul, whose one preoccupation had been to "placard" the Crucified, would not so much as have mentioned Abraham, or the Old Law, had he not been driven to it. The poor Apostle! He longs just to "preach Christ," and Apollos, with the best intentions, goes to Corinth with Alexandrian mysticism, and Judaizers, with less simplicity, go to Galatia with Rabbinic complications. . . . Thus hard is it to make straight, or to keep straight, the way of the Lord.

First, however, he develops in a natural way the notion of the heir who is still under age, a notion suggested to him by the combination of the ideas of "will" and "schoolboy" that he has been using. But running with these in his head, he has the idea of "slave, not free," as well, and this at once com-

plicates this passage and introduces the next one. A father could fix the date at which his son should come of age (and God, Paul is half thinking, pre-ordains the time of Christ's coming into the world); till then, though destined master of all, he is but as a servant, under others. So, till the coming of Christ, both Jew and Gentile were but as children, but as servants, enthralled to the "A B C" merely of religion, be that the Mosaic Law, or the Natural Law, which the pagans in their paganism none the less possessed within their hearts, though they had nothing else. But they had all alike come of age . . . the Jews were freed; so were the pagans: into their hearts God had infused the Spirit that calls on him as "Father." . . . Oh, do not let them revert to that weak and poor and elementary religion that would be no better, now, than slavery! Let them not do him that injustice. He had come, a sick man, and preached to them; they had received him as though an angel, as though Christ himself! What had become of all that love? They would have torn their eyes out, he bears witness, and given them to him! He cannot surely have become their enemy just for telling them the truth? Let him appeal just once more to that Old Testament that had been misused to their undoing. And he proceeds to argue in a fashion no doubt traditional—the detailed application of an Old Testament incident to a moral or spiritual event—which I can scarcely make clear save by a diagram! He wants to show that the Christian is *free*, and he takes for material Agar and her son Ishmael, Sara

and her son Israel, and he applies the two pairs to the Synagogue and the Jews, and the Church and Christians (iv 1-31).



Christ has made you *free*. I solemnly assure you that if you submit to circumcision (as necessary to salvation), you are bound to the *whole* Law. And those who look thus for salvation have cancelled themselves out of Christ—have fallen from grace. In Christ, the one thing necessary is faith energized by charity (v 1-6). Do not think I mean you are free to *sin*. No; but the Law, which survives in a true sense, sums itself up in the command to *love*. The Spirit, by which you are now to walk, has *its* law and works! The works of the flesh are only too obvious . . . and he recalls them, as also the contrasted works of the Spirit. The former must be crucified out of us (7-24). And this love shows itself not least in unselfishness. In one sense you must bear one another's burdens, and in another sense your own, for work you must, and each man gets the fruits of his works . . . (vi 1-10).

"See," cries Paul, as the letter finishes, "with what big lettering I have written to you with my own hand! Those who try to force you to be circumcised are simply trying to score an exterior triumph —they cannot keep the Law themselves, but they want to boast over *you*. Well, it is much if they do not actually persecute the Cross of Christ. . . . But for me, far from me that I should boast save in that Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, through which the world has become crucified for me, and I for the world. . . . To be circumcised, to be uncircumcised —that is nothing! But a *new creation*. . . . On all who follow *that* rule is peace and mercy, and on the true Israel—God's Israel. And henceforward let none molest me, for I bear in my very body the marks of the Lord Jesus" (11-18).

In this letter Paul had said: Do *not* yield to the Judaizers; they seek to enslave you; but Christianity is freedom. In that to the Romans, he is not attacking an evil influence, but teaching first and foremost something positive — the gift of God to men; the Christian life. A consequence is, that he must explain what God's previous dispensation towards the Jews was. But he was not primarily concerned with this. He considered he had the right to send a letter to the Roman Christians, careful as he was never to build upon another man's foundation, for they were, it seems, practically all ex-pagans, and therefore under his wing. Fr. Lagrange gives as his impression, and very attractively, that far from writing to put the Christians on their guard against Judaizers, he is, if anything, letting the Christians know they must not think contemptuously of the

Jews, as people living in Rome would be very tempted to do. In the very act of indicating the inferiority of the Old Testament dispensation, he insists on what its true value was. It has, however, all the more to be asked why Paul wrote a very careful letter upon doctrine to the Romans—so doctrinal, it has been pointed out, that it is quite definitely not a *mere* "letter," extracted by some circumstances of the moment, even though not devoid of many touches which suit it especially to the Romans. Because Paul had arrived at a crisis. He was conscious that the eastern half of his mission was finished. One more visit to Jerusalem, to hand over the collection, and then to Spain, by way of Rome. But no one could have any doubt that if Jerusalem had been for Paul a sort of headquarters, or at least centre-point in the East, so would Rome be for the West, and more so on account of the world-importance of the eternal and universal city. He wished, then, to herald his arrival at Rome by a display of what he taught; not, indeed, that he was submitting it to the verdict of the Christians there, for throughout he recalls that he is and must speak as an Apostle, but to break as it were the ice, and that he, Apostle of the Gentiles, might arrive in the city that was head of a still all-but-all pagan empire, not unknown. This throws further light on the kind of composition which Romans is. Do not imagine that none but Christians preached or made moral discourses in the empire of Paul's day. Many a man was fired with a desire to do good to human lives, and

had thoughts and ideals that he wished to persuade men to adopt. In particular, such were the Stoics and the Cynics. Seneca, brother of the Gallio before whom Paul was taken, was something of a spiritual director to the Court itself. . . . Such men made great use of that class of literature which was called the "diatribé"—it was a peculiar composition that had ceased to be a dialogue (like Plato's), and had not yet become an essay merely. It was not just a conversation, but it willingly introduced, to make the argumentation more vivid, personages who spoke, questioned, raised objections, quoted opposing authorities, or again, personifications of virtues and vices who did the same. Now Paul was far too "unworldly" to subject himself to any rigid form of literary composition, and his fiery temperament would soon have burned its way through any such imprisonment. But, after all, the others had struck out that method for themselves because they found it useful; and what was the useful way of doing things would almost spontaneously, unconsciously, be more or less adopted by Paul, who cannot but a thousand times have heard such preachers and very likely have read such pamphlets. After all, Apollonius of Tyana preached in the very same temple at Ephesus that Paul had so often seen, and Tyana itself was a famous town of Galatia where Apollonius had great repute. Enough; that a literature, neither quite dialogue nor mere exposition, was so common, will have made it easier for him, perhaps, to write, and certainly far easier for people to read, the document

we call the "epistle" to the Romans. And if indeed this habit of personification and question-and-answer argument be recalled, parts of the document become at once more clear.

The salutation (Romans i 1-7) is, we feel, of special solemnity, but its very compression makes it obscure in detail. Paul follows it at once by the declaration that, since he owes himself to all the world, he ought to see the Romans and be at their disposal. For the Gospel is the source of salvation—of the righteousness that God alone gives, a righteousness rooted in an ever-increasing faith—beginning with the Jew and passing on to the Gentile too (8-17). Thus at the very outset the theme of the Epistle is stated.

The argument begins terribly. Without the Gospel men have *not* had righteousness. The pagans had it not—they have sinned, and the wrath of God is in process of revealing itself against these men who "hold truth captive by their sin." "But the pagans, ignorant of God, surely *could* not sin?" They never *have* been fully ignorant, and that they are *so* ignorant is itself sin, and due to sin. For "that which is knowable of God *is* known among them, for God has *made* it known. For what is invisible in God (none the less) ever since the foundation of the world is made visible to human reflection through his works, even his eternal power and divinity, to the extent that they are inexcusable, since knowing God they did not glorify him *as* God nor give him thanks, but lapsed into nonsense in their minds, and their heart

became unintelligent and darkened. They fancied they were wise, and became mad, and changed the glory of the Immortal God for the images of the likeness of mortal man, and bird, and beast, and creeping thing." Hence God gave them over to their lusts till they ceased to be truly men even, and sank from sin to sin, even those that defy human nature itself. Men who had a *true* knowledge of God preferred not to retain it, and not only *do* these things, but applaud those who do them. They are given over to a wicked *mind*, are the object of God's wrath, are worthy of death (i 18-32).

Paul's charge is that, having a *true* knowledge of God—the word he twice uses is very strong, and is the same that he constantly uses later for the Christian knowledge—men acted against it. Forthwith the evil choice begins to blind them, human ignorance is, at least where it involves positive error, the result of sin; and each new sin drives the sinner's mind deeper into its guilty ignorance.[1] If you read carefully St

[1] Commentators here rightly quote four famous passages—from Aristotle, who says that the Invisible is seen from [his] very works; from Philo, that from [his] works we ascend, as by some heavenly ladder, to surmise, by a probable argument, the Artificer; the Book of Wisdom, affirming that from the greatness and beauty of creatures men can analogously contemplate their Originator; and the decision of the Vatican Council, that men can, from creatures, ascend to a sure knowledge of the Creator. It is striking how each author speaks accurately from his own standpoint. Aristotle, the Greek deductive philosopher, regards creatures as premisses from which the existence of the First Cause may be argued; the half-Platonized Philo regards them mythically as a ladder by which one may rise to the place of mystical intuition; the Book of Wisdom, though nearer to the thought of Alexandria, is exactly right when it says we can

Paul's frightful list of sins that he lays to the charge of the pagan, you detect at first sight a sort of diminuendo; after the great crimes you come to dullness, inability to mix with their kind, lack of human affection, hardness. To my mind there is a profound and psychologically alarming truth suggested here, though I do not think Paul deliberately set out to express it. But as you carefully study the records of Greece and Rome, you seem to find, along with increased refinement, with complication of mind, with a sensitivity augmented to the point of neurasthenia, a parallel lessening of gentleness, tenderness, human insight, depth of mind and feeling; and that a sort of fundamental hardness does not exclude an almost absolute loss of self-control. This thinness both of mind and of feeling, this real lack of something human that could and should be there, does indeed seem to us noticeable in those who have lost the habit and power of associating with spiritual things. In order adequately to live in your congenital three dimensions, you must have been admitted to, made at home in, a fourth.

Three importunate questions suggest themselves, to be mentioned for fairness' sake, but incapable here of any full answer. Is not Paul hopelessly pessimistic about the pagan world? No. He does not say there is no good in it; and there was. But I hold that what

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get a true though analogical knowledge of God through creatures; and St Paul speaks like a true Jew when he thinks in terms of God's power rather than of his causality—a Greek concept Paul sees creatures as a mirror of God.

to some appears to have been, at that time, improvement, is really that superficial refinement which is due rather to a weakening of fibre and lack of courage or impetus for violent crime than to higher standard. I think that even pagan mysticism was rather due to a new delicacy of thought that brought with it no corresponding strength of will or motive. Neither the new religions nor even the new philanthropic tendencies just showing themselves in Paul's time seem to me to have had a positive *building* value. Moreover, in order to improve, pagan nations would have had to act very much against, rather than in terms of, their religions, especially when such cults seemed "supernatural" in quality and not merely ethical and average. Second, does not merely increased civilization automatically weaken, after a space of helpful refining, both mind and will? A civilization, I mean, that contains no essential element of unselfishness, and, in fact, no justice to the race. No one fails to see that the civilizations of Rome and even Greece and Asia, reposing on slavery and rising to immense fortunes in the hands of a few, were precisely the sort of civilization which was sinful. Nothing resembling a "Christian" civilization had been tried. Christianity refines without weakening. Yet, thirdly, is that true? We keep hearing of our "pagan" civilization nowadays. Nor is it an adequate answer to say that we have long rejected the Christian elements in civilization. For, if their results were so obviously valuable, why did we let them go? Why was not Christianity strong enough to maintain itself? Here

is indeed a mystery. We can at least recall that one part of our Lord's teaching (shall he find faith on the earth ?) suggests, and St John's Apocalypse makes it very clear, that faith will not remain always at its highest; indeed, St John foreshadows very clearly a fluctuation—a shrinking and then expansion. History shows this has happened. The witness seems silenced, and then suddenly revives; the daily sacrifice never ceases altogether. Above all, the Christian faith has in it essentially just what the pagan ones lacked essentially, the power of achieving what it teaches unless free will (which never shall be unfreed) deliberately opposes it. And Christianity at all times produces ideals and actual virtues such as we find no least hint of in all the pagan legacy. There was nothing *in* pagan Rome such as there is *in* "pagan" London. St Paul's first assertion then is: The pagans have not got in their lives the germ of self-salvation.

Surely a Jew, reading, might have marvelled to find Paul come right round and attacking his dear Gentiles. Short-lived satisfaction. At once he turns on the complacent Jew who *judges*—"for you Jews," Paul cries, "*do the same.*" And even as honour and peace and glory are his who does right—Jew first, then Gentile, so to the wrong-doer comes God's wrath that the sinner has been hoarding up against himself —to Jew *first*, then to the Gentile (ii 1-11) Not the possession, nor even the knowledge of the Law makes men righteous, but the doers thereof. "Ah, but the pagans, having *no* Law—how *can* they 'do' it ?" Yes, they have a Law! It is in their own persons: they

show the work, or function, of the Law written in their hearts, for their conscience keeps bearing witness (to it), and so do their discussions among themselves, their approbations or disapprovals. And God judges *hearts*. O Jew, who thinkest thyself guide to the blind, light in the dark, instructor of fools, teacher of babes—canst thou not teach thyself? . . . the very Name of God is blasphemed among the pagans because of *you!* Circumcision? What does that profit? Uncircumcision, that fulfils the Law, shall condemn you, the circumcision, who transgress the Law. The Jew-in-secret, the circumcised of heart, *he* wins the praise from God! (12-29).

Paul has so far but said that the good pagan is better than a bad Jew, not that a good idolater as such is a good man or even a good pagan; still less has Paul said that a good Jew is no better than a good pagan. The distinction rests wholly on a basis of good works, to know how to do which the pagans have ample light. A pagan writer himself had seen that the Greek who had been initiated into the mysteries and then stole would be no better off hereafter than the non-initiate who did not steal. . . . And Paul loyally now asks, Is, then, the Jew no better off than the pagan? Is circumcision valueless? In many ways he is; and it is far from valueless! The Jews were entrusted with the whole of the external revelation of God. Their infidelities have but made God's fidelity the clearer, for the promises he made to them he will not violate. "But if my infidelity makes God's righteousness stand out

the clearer, God is unjust in being angry with me!" "Hush! God *is* just—how else shall he judge the world?" "No; if my infidelity has but served to manifest God's fidelity in brighter colours, I ought not to be condemned as a sinner at all." "That is as good as to say that we may do evil that good may come, and *that* we all rightly condemn"[1] (1-8). No; the Scriptures themselves prove abundantly that no man is sinless; no man can boast (9-20). Paul has shown, then, that the Jews had more light at their service, and the chance, therefore, of doing better. Alas for them if they did not use it! It is but our Lord's teaching in the parable of the Good Samaritan, and in his praise of Tyre and Sidon as against Jerusalem. And the supercilious Catholic may tremble. . . . But if, then, the Law cannot *give* justice, what can?

Ah! *Apart from* the Law, though *witnessed to* alike by Law and Prophets, the righteousness that is *God's* is revealed—*God's* righteousness, by means of faith in Jesus Christ, in regard of all who *believe*. (There is no distinction: for *all* have sinned, and are deprived of the glory of God.) We are made righteous as a free gift, by his grace, by means of the ransom that consists in Jesus Christ, whom God has put

[1] Observe that Paul here does not strictly argue, but appeals to universally admitted principles to show that the objection *must* be ill-founded. He could have argued: God is right in condemning you, because though your sin *can* be made to serve as a black contrast to the glory of his fidelity, yet that glory was not *intended* by you when you sinned, but the reverse. God can govern the result of a sin, even, but no thanks to the sinner. . . .

forward as a propitiation, to be made ours by means of faith in his blood for the purpose of manifesting his own righteousness; for he disregarded our sins of yore during the time of his divine patience, in view of the manifestation of his righteousness in these *our* days, that he may be displayed as righteous in himself, and as making righteous him who has faith in Jesus (21-26).

God, then, the God of Gentile as of Jew, makes men righteous *apart from* the Law.

Paul, if obscure here at all, is so because of his extreme compression. God is, and is the source of, all righteousness, uncreated and created, absolute and participated. Even to men who had not sinned righteousness would have to be given—even "natural" righteousness, still more "supernatural," though he does not here make the distinction explicit. But we have sinned. God has fixed the sacrifice of expiation and propitiation in the person of Jesus Christ; all, therefore, who accept Christ—we do not here define exactly what that means, nor, as yet, does Paul—find in him the instrument that makes them righteous, and God wins thus his glory, for which alone, in the long run, the world, men, and their spiritual triumph, exist.[1]

[1] The Westminster Series, Vol. III, Appendix 3, makes it clear what a difficulty for English speakers are St Paul's words δικαιοσύνη and its cognates. "Justice" for us has come to have a narrowed meaning only; its contrasts are mercy, favouritism, fraud. "Righteousness," then, is better. Yet there is no one word which makes a *verb* for "righteousness," as "justify" does for "justice." We have thought better not to use the coined word "justness." We hesitated whether to use *justice* to mean the ordinary juridical or ethical justice, and *Justice* in the

The Scriptures are not, says Paul, with his eye on his fellow Jews rather than on the ex-pagans or on us, out of harmony with this. Abraham is recognized as "righteous." But *his* righteousness was based on his faith, not on the Law or circumcision, since they did not yet exist (iv 1-12). Nor could God, long afterwards, have inserted the Law as a condition of his promise to Abraham—that would have been playing fast and loose with men's hopes; besides, since it was a Law that no one could obey, it would have been equivalent to cancelling the promise. Hence Abraham, made righteous because he believed, is the father of all those who do likewise; and we, through our faith in its turn, and no otherwise, shall inherit the gift of the promise (iv 1-25).

Paul passes now to the second great consideration—the object of Christian faith, that is, Christ. He rapidly sets forth his subject.

Made righteous by faith, we have peace, free access to God, and also firm hope. We can even exult in our present sufferings, not alone in the future, for it is these very sufferings that so intensify our hope. Hope shall not put us to shame. Moreover, God has shed forth his love for us in our hearts through the gift of the Holy Spirit; finally, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us and reconciled us with

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technical Pauline sense. But we felt that no amount of capitals would give the word the required flavour. So we confess our failure to translate as crisply and *assonantly* as the Greek deserves, and pray that more and more people will become able to read St Paul's words just as he wrote them, that is, in Greek.

God: how much more will not his life, then, do for us now that we *are* reconciled and made righteous? (v 1-11). And hereupon he breaks into one of his great paeans of joy—a page in which dogma sings itself, where the Creed exults.

Wherefore, as by one man sin came into the world and, through sin, death, even so to all men death went spreading, for we all have sinned. (Yes, even before the Law sin was in the world; for though sin is not imputed where there is no law, yet [we see that] Death played the king from Adam down to Moses, even over those who had not sinned [actually] as Adam did.) That one man, Adam, is the figure of the One Man who was to come. Yet not on the scale of the fault was the grace to be! For even though, by the fault of one, the many died, by far more has the grace of God, the free gift that consists in the grace given through the one man Jesus Christ, overflowed upon the many! And the gift is beyond what [the condemnation sprung from] the one man, Adam, was. For the condemnation, starting from one man's one sin, works yet further condemnation, whereas the grace starts from many sins and ends in righteousness. For though by the fault of one, Death played the king through the instrumentality of that one, by far more shall they who accept the superabundance of the grace and of the free gift of righteousness reign as kings through the one Jesus Christ. So, then, even as through the sin of one, it issued into condemnation for all, so by means of the justifying act of one, it issued, for all, into the righteousness that gives life. For even as by the disobedience of the one the many were established sinners, so through the obedience of the one the many shall be established righteous. The Law stealthily slipped in that fault

might abound; but where sin abounded, there overwhelmingly did grace abound; that just as sin reigned in death as king, even so grace, by means of righteousness, might reign unto eternal life through Jesus Christ our Lord (12-21).

But as the Jew had asked, "Was not, then, my very sin a good thing, in that it gave added splendour to God's goodness?" so might the Christian inquire whether, then, he were to remain in sin, that more material might thus be provided for the grace of God to act upon. Paul answers that the Christian is assimilated throughout to Christ—to start with, in his death, and thus in his resurrection and continued life. In baptism one sort of life, a sin-life, died; and thereupon another sort of life, a righteousness-life, begins. Sin is altogether an affair of man and of time; but Christ's risen life is an affair commensurate with God, and so eternal. (Not that he denies, here, that the Christian *can* commit sins, and indeed insists that he may do so, and must strive not to; but he is saying that the sort of life Christ's death abolished, and to which we, in our baptism, give a death-blow, is a sin-life. We pass into a grace-life—that is, eternal life: vi 1-14.) Paul, using, as he reminds us (19), human analogies, then shows that a new obligation has been contracted: we were at the mercy of sin—sin's slaves. We have not just been turned loose and independent into our new world, but with the strict obligation of serving God (15-23). Again, you law-loving Romans know very well that all law—marriage law, for example, or any bilateral contract

—only applies as long as both contracting parties are alive. But in the body of Christ we died! So the old grip of Law upon us is finished. We are a new person (vii 1-6).[1] Why then exactly was the Law, too, abolished by Christ's death and new life? Is the Law sin? (For we have but said that sin and its consequence death are conquered by Christ. But now we have said that Law is abolished.) Is, then, Law to be identified with sin? No. But so long as man might live without a Law set over him, sin, as it were, slept within him: he did not know for certain what sin was; and there was not in me that instinct of disobedience that is aroused, precisely, by a prohibition. But when the prohibition is introduced, suddenly I find that a mysterious thing has happened to me—I do not do what I really wish, but what I hate! I am two men; I would like to do right, and lo, I do wrong! An alien thing, something not in my true nature, is somehow in me, and active through me—sin. It draws up its army against me within my very self. The flesh carries the spirit off captive. Miserable humanity! What is it to do? Why, give itself over to Christ. Where the mere prohibition cannot save nor even help, the grace of God, given through Christ, can do both (vii).[2]

[1] Throughout you will see how many handles Paul offers to one who should wish to argue that the Christian, then, is free to do exactly as he pleases. But no sooner are they offered than we find them withdrawn. The synthesis of Paul's doctrine will be set forth later on.

[2] Paul uses here the first person singular because he identifies himself, in this vivacious argument, with the man who experiences this, whosoever he be, but particularly with the law-tortured Jew.

Once we are, and stay, "in Christ," we are freed. What the Law with its exterior prohibition, that encountered and added fuel to the rebellion that is intrinsic to fallen man, could never do, Christ, by dying for man, and then by placing in him his Spirit, does do. If Christ be but in you, his Spirit in you, though the battle continue, the victory is certain (viii 1-11). Now those who are led by, animated by, the Spirit of God are sons of God; "You have not received the spirit of slavery and fear all over again, but the Spirit of adoption, through whom we cry *Father* to our God. Our conscience and the Spirit bear mutual witness within us to our new sonship, and thus to our heirship. We are God's children; therefore, God's heirs—co-heirs with Christ. And our inheritance is glorification, even as his was" (12-17).

Oh, I reckon the sufferings of the present moment as not worthy to be counted in view of the glory destined to be revealed in our regard! Creation itself is eager, expectant, of the revelation of God's sons! Creation was once enthralled and made perverse—not because she so chose to be, but because of us, us sinners, who thus enslaved her; but she preserved hope, seeing that Creation herself shall be freed, one day, from her destructive slavery into the freedom of the glory of the children of God. Yes, we know that the whole of creation until this very time joins in our groaning, travails along with us. And not only she, but we, too, groan within ourselves in our yearning for our adoption, the ransom of our humanity. . . . But besides this, the Spirit, too, joins hands with our weakness. For what to pray

for, and how, we know not; but the Spirit itself intercedes for us with groanings beyond our utterance, and he who searches hearts knows what the meaning of the Spirit is and how it is interceding on behalf of his saints. We know that for those who love God he makes all things to work together for good, even to those who according to his purpose have been called. Those whom he foreknew, them also did he fore-ordain to become assimilated to his Son, so that that Son might be the first-begotten among many brethren. And whom he fore-ordained, them also he called, and whom he called, them, too, made he righteous; and those whom he made righteous, them, too, he glorified.

What, then, are we to say to that? If God is for us, who is against us? God—who spared not his own Son, but gave him over for us all—how then shall he not freely give us all things along with him? Who can lay charge against the elect of God? Shall God . . .? But God justifies us! Who can condemn us? Christ Jesus? But he died—rather, he rose, he is at the right hand of God, and is interceding for us. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Affliction, or stress, or persecution, hunger or nakedness, or danger or the sword? And true it is that "for thy sake we are put to death all the day long—we are reckoned as very sheep for the slaughter." But in these very things we more than conquer, through him who loved us. Ah! I know well that neither death nor life, nor angels nor spirits, nor the present, nor the future, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any thing created shall be able to separate us from the love of God that is in Christ Jesu our Lord (18-39).

With this magnificent proclamation—that the very things that most separate men upon earth are those

that most unite us to God and to our Lord, and that they have, for their whole plan towards us, our salvation here, and our glorification hereafter, so that faith passes inevitably into hope, and hope already finds all but full fruition in the love whereby we cannot but correspond to so much love from God —that part of the epistle that will most move us ends. We cannot suppose that the Roman converts were much stirred by the considerations Paul now puts forward about the Jews, nor probably are we. But Paul was. His nation was passionately dear to him, and their destiny, even as their history had been, was a terrifying problem. And perhaps we are wrong to be but little stirred. We are apt to think of the Jews as meaning nothing to us. False notion. Nothing can prevent them having been the unique recipients of God's revelation; and the whole of their history is nothing but a preparation for our Lord. If they have failed in their vocation, the tragedy is so great that it should rivet our attention. None the less, we shall but outline in the slightest way the next section of this epistle.

Paul, reviewing the immense prerogatives of his race, confesses to his anguish at sight of their incredulity. Yet God has not been faithless. Not to all Abraham's sons, not to all of Jacob's descendants, were the promises given. Always there was a selection (ix 1-13). Nor yet is God's justice injured by the apostasy of some of the race. All God's favours are gratuitous—he had no obligation to save, for example, Pharaoh. God co-operates with the

human will in whichever direction it may choose to act. Paul puts this more positively, never forgetting —as no Jew ever could forget—that the ultimate source of all human activity is God. Before the problem thus set—for then comes the question, How can God be angry with us when we sin? is not *he* alone responsible?—Paul says nothing, but that to accuse God of injustice is impious, and that the Potter's handiwork cannot rise in revolt against the Potter, and that God can patiently support the "vessels of wrath" on account of the contrast that they make with the vessels of mercy, and thus indeed he has planned in regard of the Gentiles themselves and of the remnant of Israel that is to be faithful (14-29). Moreover, and more deeply, the Jews are themselves at fault. They strove to get righteousness by their own efforts; they forgot that the *end* of the Law is Christ. They took the difficult, nay, the impossible way, whereas salvation is so near and so easy! And let them not say they have had no chance. Without being told, they could not have known, and had been guiltless; but the Apostles have made their voice well heard to them. . . . No, this is the voluntary ignorance foretold by Moses and denounced by Isaias as already existing in the Jews of his own day (ix 30-x 21). However, their rejection is not total—there is, as there has always been, a believing remnant in the people (xi 1-10); nor is it absolute and for ever, but there will be a return, richer in fruits than the old days, and Paul spends himself for the conversion of even a few. . . .

True, the wild-olive shoots, the Gentiles, had been grafted into the olive stock; but by God's wonderful working, the very boughs that had been cut off to allow of the new shoots being inserted, could themselves be reinserted. Prophets foretell the final conversion of Israel: God still loves his people; God still has plans for them even as for the Gentiles. And if this destiny of the Jews is indeed full of strange mystery—well, who can wonder? "Oh, the depth of the riches and wisdom and knowledge of God! How labyrinthine are his verdicts and how untraceable his paths! Yet from him, and through him, and unto him are all things; and to him the glory, for ever and ever, Amen" (11-36).

The remainder of the epistle consists of advice such as Paul always gives before closing, and personal recommendations. Briefly he recalls that Christians, forming one body, must at once have diversities of function, and harmony among themselves. Let the vital bond that holds them thus in unity be love (xii). To Christians living in a Rome where the Emperor had not yet revealed himself as their persecutor, he can recommend strict obedience to authority, as Caesar holds his sword from God (xiii 1-7), and he reiterates his injunction of charity, applying this just as he had done at greater length for Corinth to the question of scruples concerning foods. One may sacrifice one's freedom in the concrete for the sake of avoiding giving scandal to the weak. Convince yourselves of, and imitate, the all-embracing charity of Christ (xiii 8-xv 13). He then

bids farewell. He begs pardon for having seemed to instruct Christians whose instruction was already so perfect, but, as Gentiles, he had the right to speak to them. He had long wished to visit them, and now proposed to do so directly he should have taken the collection to Jerusalem. His work "in these parts" was finished; he would go, through Rome, to Spain and to the West (14-33). He particularly recommends to them Phoebe, a Corinthian lady who was coming to Rome, and Aquila and Priscilla, to whom he cannot express his thanks adequately, who also are returning there. He salutes a long list of people by name, and then he and all his companions and his secretary sign the letter.

XII

THE APPEAL TO CAESAR

Luke, then, in a small boat, sailed from the Troad to the port of Assos, and Paul, having preferred to walk the fifteen miles or so, was met there by him, and together they went on by boat to Mitylene; thence they passed Chios; thence to Samos; and finally to Miletus. Paul had decided not to stop at Ephesus, for he felt he would not be able to tear himself away, and he had resolved at all costs to reach Jerusalem for Pentecost. Yet he could not resist some manner of farewell. He sent to the chief Christian leaders at Ephesus and asked them to come to say good-bye to him at Miletus. In his conversation with them he lingered

affectionately over his memories of Ephesus and his apostolate there, and then declared that he was going, "bound by the Spirit," to Jerusalem, not knowing what was awaiting them there, save that the Spirit warned him of prison and persecution. Nothing mattered, he insisted, provided he could but finish his course, and give witness to Jesus to the very end. "And now I know," said he, "that none of you, through whom I passed, preaching the Gospel, shall see my face again." Therefore he would say that his own conscience was clear concerning his stay with them; let them in their turn make good shepherds for the flock; he foresaw that wolves would come in, from without, to harry it; nay, from among themselves would rise up men who should teach distorted things and seduce men after them. Therefore let them watch and recall how for three years, day and night, with many tears he had worked for and taught them, and had never sought return in any advantage save their fidelity to grace, to which he now commended them. Let them remember the Lord's saying, that "it is more blessed to give than to receive."

They all knelt down then together and prayed, and they embraced him, mourning especially that he had said that they should see him no more. Then they took him down to the ship (Acts xx 13-38).

By a quick run they reached Cos; thence Rhodes; thence Patara. Here they changed into a boat that was going to Phoenicia, and leaving Cyprus on the north went straight to Tyre, where the ship was to unload its freight. They rested in Tyre for a week,

and despite the prophetic warning given them there by some of the Christians not to go to Jerusalem, they started with the whole Christian community, including women and children, for escort to the shore. There again they knelt, said good-bye, and the Apostles embarked, and the others went home (1-6). I confess that these tiny scenes, drawn by the firm yet reticent pencil of St Luke, enchant me. They live, and the fragrance of the sea breathes from them, and it is not hard to kneel among that little group of Orientals and to feel yourself at home there, and profit by the brief nearness of St Paul (Acts xxi 1-6). After one day at Ptolemais they came to Caesarea, and since they had come so fast were able to stay some time with "Philip the Evangelist," one of the seven deacons and presumably the hero of Acts viii. He had, Luke mentions, four daughters, virgins, who had the gift of prophecy. While they were there, Agabus, who in A.D. 44 had predicted the famine, arrived from Judaea, and, with that strange acted symbolism that was so frequently used by Old Testament prophets, took Paul's girdle, bound his hands and feet, and said: "The Holy Spirit declares that the man whose girdle this is shall be bound by the Jews in Jerusalem and handed over to the Gentiles." Whereupon they implored him not to go to Jerusalem, but he insisted that he was ready not alone to be bound but to die for the Name of Jesus. They said: "The Lord's will be done," and let him go (7-14). It was over sixty miles to Jerusalem, too far even to ride in one day; they seem to have done this part of the journey

on horseback. The first night would be spent in the mountains of Samaria; and perhaps this is why they took with them "Mnason of Cyprus, a veteran disciple," with whom they had stayed at Caesarea, and who seems to have been accordingly able to ensure due hospitality. They reached Jerusalem, and were warmly welcomed by their fellow-Christians. Next day they visited James, and all the local elders came too. Paul related in detail what he had been doing, and they all glorified God. But the old difficulty arose. "You see, brother," said they, "what myriads of believers there are, and all of them have always been zealots for the Law. And they have been advised that you are preaching an apostasy from Moses to all the Jews that are scattered among the Gentiles, telling them not to circumcise their children, nor walk in our traditional ways. What are we to do? We cannot avoid everyone assembling, for they will hear that you have come." They then devised the following plan. Men who had a Nazirite vow had, as we said, to cut their hair only after a certain period in the temple. Also they had to offer sacrifice, and if this was too expensive (it meant the offering of at least three sheep) they waited about till someone, as an act of charity, did it for them. There were four such men, Christians, now in Jerusalem; let Paul perform the religious ceremonies along with them, and pay their expenses too. Then everyone would know that Paul personally observed the legal ritual, while as for convert pagans, it had long ago been settled that they were only to abstain from the

practices we have already discussed. Paul did this, meaning to wait till the seven days the ritual would exact were accomplished (17-26).

But he never finished them. Asiatic Jews, having recognized with him in the town the Ephesian Trophimus, jumped to the conclusion that he had taken this Greek into the part of the temple reserved for Jews. In a moment they had the whole city in an uproar; they seized Paul, hurried him out of the temple, and forthwith shut its gates. The court of the Gentiles was filled with a seething crowd in the midst of which Paul struggled for his life. Communicating with this court by two staircases was the citadel Antonia, where the troops had their barracks. The tribune Lysias heard the uproar, rushed his soldiers down into the court, and rescued Paul, whom at the sight of them the people stopped beating, but who none the less was instantly bound with two ropes, as doubtless a criminal of some sort. The soldiers then raised Paul shoulder-high, to get him into the citadel, so utterly impossible was it in that confusion to find out what was happening. Even so, the mob followed them yelling: "Kill him!" Paul called loudly to the officer that he wanted to speak to him. "Can you talk Greek?" asked the astonished man. "Are you not the Egyptian who started an insurrection some time ago?" (For an Egyptian had armed 4,000 men with daggers and established a revolutionary headquarters outside the city, only to have his forces pitilessly cut to pieces by the procurator Felix. Lysias thought this must be the same man come back

again.) "I am a Jew," said Paul, "from Tarsus in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city. I implore you, let me talk to the people." The officer agreed, and Paul, standing on the steps, lifted his hand and began to speak in Aramaic, which astonished them in their turn, and they kept silence and listened. Paul repeated his qualifications for being held a true Jew, and declared that he had always been "a zealot for God just as you all of you are to-day." He recalled his persecution of the Christians, his conversion, and finally the declaration made to him by our Lord that he should be sent "far off, to the Gentiles" (27-xxii 21). At this the frenzy of the Jews knew no bounds. They all began to scream and throw handfuls of dust into the air, and to tear their clothes. To the Roman the scene must have looked quite insane. Perplexity, if not fear, bred anger. Waste no more time. Get the man inside the fortress and scourge him till he tells us what this is all about. As they were tying him to the flogging-post, Paul said to a sergeant who was standing by, "Have you the right to flog a Roman citizen without a trial?" The sergeant ran off to Lysias. "The man is a citizen!" Lysias, horror-struck to see the abyss on whose edge he had been standing, ran back himself. "Are you a Roman citizen?" "I am," said Paul. "It cost me much," said Lysias, half dazed (one would say), "to buy my citizenship." "I," said Paul, "was born one. . . ." Paul then was untied, and the officer retired to meditate nervously on what to do next (22-29).

Lysias would have to inform the procurator of what

had happened. To get the matter clear he confronted the Sanhedrin next day with Paul, in order to make sure what the charges were. The tribune, we may add, would have taken the chair, so that the high priest, who was present, would have worn no insignia, and Paul failed to notice or to recognize him. So Ananias, at Paul's remark that he had served God with a clear conscience right up to the present, called out to strike the blasphemer and perjurer on the mouth. . . . "God shall strike thee," said Paul gravely, "who art seated there to give judgement according to the law, and contrary to the law dost bid them strike me." "Dost thou curse God's high priest?" they asked, appalled. "I did not know, brethren," said he, "that it was the high priest: for it says in Exodus, 'Thou shalt not speak evil of thy people's chief.'" Then, realizing that the assembly contained both Pharisees and Sadducees, he called out: "I am a Pharisee, and son of Pharisees. It is on a charge concerning the hope and the resurrection of the dead that I am being tried." At once a schism was formed. The one party shouted against the other, and Lysias, afraid lest Paul should positively be torn in two between them, hurried him back into the citadel. And that night, in a vision God said to him: Fear not, for as thou hast borne witness to me in Jerusalem, so must thou likewise do in Rome (xxiii 1-11).

The human plan was, however, to murder Paul. About forty Jews took an oath that they would neither eat nor drink till they had killed him, and told

the high priest and other Jewish officials so, and to get their opportunity demanded a further interview with Paul, convinced that on the way to or from the fortress they would be able to engineer the assassination. However, Paul had a nephew, and this youth, having overheard the plot, got into the citadel and told Paul. Paul told one of the sergeants, and the sergeant sent the lad in to Lysias, who was delighted with the chance of proving his alertness, took the lad by the hand, questioned him, and decided that Paul had better go straight to the procurator at Caesarea. He was taking no risks. He commanded Paul's nephew to hold his tongue; sent for a couple of centurions, told them to prepare 200 private soldiers, 70 cavalry, and 200 light-armed soldiers as escort. They were to start at nightfall for the north. All this to protect one man? Yes. And it proves what an impression the riot of the day before had made on the Roman. Lysias looked for promotion for zeal—he was a policeman as well as officer commanding the Jerusalem garrison—and at 9 p.m. they set out. Next day they reached Antipatris, and thence Paul (who was riding) proceeded alone with the cavalry to Caesarea, where they arrived that night. Lysias's despatch was handed to the procurator, and ran as follows:

Claudius Lysias salutes the noble governor Felix. This man had been seized by the Jews and was going to be killed by them, when I intervened with my men and rescued him. Wishing to know what the charge against him was, I had him brought down to their court, and find he is up on a charge concern-

ing some points of Jewish law, but nothing worthy of death or prison. Informed, however, that an ambush would be laid against him by them, I send him to you and have ordered his accusers to plead in person before you.

Felix asked Paul where he came from, and Paul said "Cilicia." "Very well," said Felix, "I will hear your case directly the prosecution arrives." Meanwhile, Paul was put under confinement in the praetorium of Herod (12-35).

Gallio had been at least a gentleman. Felix was one of the very worst types that Rome was now producing. For two reasons the Emperors were beginning not to mind with whom they associated. One was, that they were so high exalted that it really did not matter. The other was, that immense wealth, etiquette, and artificiality always breed a reaction. The vulgar is practically *preferred*. Claudius's great favourite was a freedman called Pallas. Felix was the brother of this man, and had achieved his position not even by dint of a hateful but powerful personality, as Pallas must have done, but just because he was the favourite's brother. Tacitus says he governed with the arbitrariness of an absolute monarch, and with the soul of a slave. . . . Princesses were his hobby. Three luckless ladies, of royal rank, had been made his wives successively. Not, I think, that they minded much. Money and power, at that time, and the certainty that the contract never need last long, made a disgusting husband not too difficult for a girl to accept. At present Felix was living with Drusilla,

the sister of Agrippa and Berenicé, who enter Paul's life a little later on.

Five days later Ananias arrived with a barrister, Tertullus, and the latter made a speech in which he said that Paul was a pestilential disturber of the peace, which Felix had so carefully established in Palestine, and a sacrilegist. The Jews all swore that this was so. Paul pointed out that the really important witnesses, the Asiatic Jews who had made the trouble, were not in court. Felix could be sure, said he, that never at any time had he caused riot or other disturbance, and the true reason for the attack on him was that he preached the resurrection of the dead, according to his belief that God would judge the entire world and reward or punish men according to their deserts. Felix said that further evidence would be required before he could do anything, and that Paul was to be kept, meanwhile, in honourable confinement, free to receive visits from his own folks. Lysias would have to come to the trial in person. As a matter of fact, Felix felt sure that Paul would soon be willing to pay for his release. He was, however, linked to a soldier, by a chain round the arm of each; and all privacy became impossible, and, of course, all personal service to the Christian communities he loved (xxiv 1-23).

Time passed. Did Felix succumb to the fascination of Paul, as Herod to John the Baptist's? Sensualists often like to study the mystic; crime takes a morbid pleasure in hearing itself rebuked. Or was Caesarea dull, and did Felix just amuse him-

self with Paul? A moment came, however, when Drusilla added herself to the audience, and on that occasion Paul spoke so hotly on justice, and chastity, and judgement, that the governor dismissed him hurriedly. "We will talk some more about that later on." And Paul remained in prison. The Asiatic Jews must have gone home long ago. There was no likelihood of finding "witnesses." And after two full years Felix was summoned back to Rome, and, wishing to satisfy in some way at least the Jews whom he had sedulously maltreated during his spell of office, he left Paul, still a prisoner, to the attentions of his successor. You might have thought that the terms of inactivity that followed Paul's conversion might have been sufficient novitiate for his life: but now that its second half was beginning, another eclipse seems to have been thought desirable by Providence, and once more we do homage to the constancy and true trust which enabled Paul to experience this trial without chafing, and to be as ready as ever at the end of it to take up his work where he had left it. But even then, when he was to have his wish and go to Rome at last, he went not as he would have chosen (24-27).

Felix left in 59; his successor, Porcius Festus, went straight after landing at Caesarea to Jerusalem, the centre of his new region of office. Roman governors, till they succumbed either to the intolerable obstructionism of their subordinates or to their adulation and bribes, usually began well. The Jerusalem Jews immediately demanded to have Paul

brought thither, apparently to have him condemned out of hand—for Festus writes later that he had answered that it never was the Romans' custom to condemn a man without a proper trial and witnesses—and also hoping to despatch him on the way. Festus, however, was returning almost at once to Caesarea, and invited the Jews to come with him, if they felt they could provide the witnesses he needed. The very day after he arrived there he summoned Paul, listened to his defence, and asked him if he was willing to go for trial to Jerusalem. It was apparently impossible to remove a prisoner from the governor's head-quarters, if that were where he was up for trial, without his consent. Paul knew very well what to expect on the journey, so he said that he was standing at the bar of Caesar, had done nothing whatsoever against the Jews, was perfectly ready to die if he had done anything worthy of death, which he had not, and that no one had any right to make a present of him to the Jews. "I appeal to Caesar." "To Caesar," answered Festus, "thou hast appealed: to Caesar thou shalt go" (xxv 1-12).

Upon this there arrived at Caesarea Agrippa II, the son of the Herod who had imprisoned Peter, and to whom both Claudius and now Nero had given large territories in the north. Moreover he inherited from another Herod, his uncle, the supervision of the temple and the right to designate the high priest. He came with his sister Berenicé, a lady whom death had delivered from her first two husbands and who had fled from a third, and was now always at her

brother's side, and the theme of hideous and sensational scandals. They visited Caesarea to pay their due respects to the new representative of the empire. Festus saw a good chance of making himself pleasant, told them about Paul, said that the case appeared to concern the local worship and a certain Jesus dead long since, that he could not see that Paul was guilty of anything serious, but that he had appealed to Caesar and so must go to Rome. Meanwhile, he had not the least idea how to draft his report to the Emperor, and said he would be grateful for Agrippa's advice. It is as though a native prince in India were invited to attend a trial concerning some recondite point of Hindu belief in a British court. Festus behaved with great politeness, practically asked Agrippa to take the chair, and Agrippa, who had Berenicé sitting beside him on the bench, together with the full military staff around him, was glad of the opportunity to see Paul.[1]

It is not necessary to repeat Paul's speech. Once more, before this strange audience, he had to relate the story of the most sacred episode of his life; once more, before a Jew who had apostatized from all that was best in his national tradition, and before a Roman who could not so much as understand what Paul was suggesting, to what he was alluding, he had to speak of Moses, of the Prophets, of Jesus

[1] Berenicé's actual husband was the kinglet of Cilicia, where people might be talking much of their problematical compatriot. Luke was either present at all this trial, or has extraordinarily good documents, since not only is his account unusually full, but vivid and alive to an exceptional degree (13-27).

crucified and risen, and of the Light that should give light to the world. What thoughts were stirring beneath Agrippa's silence? It was Festus who first called out with a loud voice: "You are mad, Paul; much reading has sent you mad!" "I am not mad, your Excellency," Paul answered quietly; "but what I say is true and temperate. The king understands what I am talking about, and so I speak freely to him. I am quite sure that not one of the things that I have said is unknown to him. For this story was not enacted in a corner. . . . King Agrippa! do you believe in the Prophets? I know you do." Agrippa, stammering, avoiding him, said: "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian. . . ." Or do not his ambiguous words imply: "Very lightly art thou fain to make a Christian of me"? "Would to God," said Paul, "that, at small expense or great, not only you, but all these here present, might to-day become as I am—except," he added, surely with a smile, "for these chains." They all stood up and began to talk to one another; and, as long ago at Jerusalem, it was agreed that the prisoner had done nothing to deserve either death or prison. . . . And Agrippa said: "If only this man had not appealed to Caesar, he could have been dismissed!" (xxvi).

Festus had to collect the contingent of prisoners who were to go to Rome, and this took time. It was probably autumn before they were ready to sail, and impossible accordingly to face the north-west winds or to go direct. It was decided to make for Adramyttium, in Mysia, and thence, keeping so far as

possible to the coast and behind islands, to get across to Italy. Luke and Aristarchus embarked along with Paul—by special favour? as ordinary passengers? In the capacity, it has been suggested, of Paul's slaves, no other grounds for their inclusion in the list of passengers being valid. At least, Paul had these two dear companions with him all the way. They touched at Sidon, where there was a Christian community, and Julius, the officer in charge, showed a Roman decency towards Paul, and allowed him to disembark, though with his arm still chained to the soldier's, and see his friends. At parting, did they kneel once more upon the beach? Think always henceforward of the appalling lack of privacy in which the Apostle was to live, not his most sacred spiritual hours nor his most intimate conversations being free from the pagan soldier who shared his every movement. . . . From Sidon they still hugged the coast, and from the deck Paul watched Cilicia drift past him. . . . They went between Cyprus and the land, past Pamphylia, with its many memories of the earliest mission to the pagans; and at Myra, in Lycia, they found a corn-ship from Alexandria, which meant to risk a straight course to Italy, for such ships were usually indemnified in the event of disaster. Julius transhipped his passengers on to it. At Cnidos the winds became unmanageable, and they had to let themselves be swept right out of their course down to Crete, beneath the lee of which they hoped to travel. But the south coast of Crete is rough and has little in the way of harbourage, though they put in for some time at a

place optimistically called Fair Haven, and there Paul, who knew what shipwreck meant, strongly advised the captain to winter. It was already late October, and the sailing was thoroughly unpropitious. Paul foresaw the loss of the freight, if not of the ship and all on board. However, Julius, to whom Paul put this, took the advice of the skipper and the pilot, who could not afford five months' inertia in a very bad harbour, and a compromise was suggested—they would try to make a better harbour, Phoenix. A south wind promised a good run. But scarcely were they out of the harbour than a violent squall came down on them from the north-east, and the strain on the one mast and huge sail became tremendous. It has been picturesquely pointed out that Luke, had he been a sailor, would have mentioned first—what was doubtless done first—that they shortened sail; as it is, he says what he most likely took part in—they hauled the skiff that they were towing into the ship; and even this they could not do till, under the lee of a little island now called Gozzo or Gaudo, they got the water-logged little boat in. Then they "girded" the ship—most people think longitudinally—that is, by means of cables passing right round the hull, not under it, but crossing at the prow, entering the ship itself through apertures, and wound taut within on a capstan.[1]

Finally, they threw out a floating anchor—a flat boarding held upright in the water by ropes, that

[1] Ramsay, however, does not think this sort of girding would have been possible in such a gale.

retarded the ship—for they were afraid they would get swept right away to the Syrtes sandbanks, which would altogether demolish the ship. Next day they threw out some of the cargo, as they had probably shipped much water, and the day after they actually cleared the decks of most of their tackle, and threw that too overboard. For whole days they never saw the sun, nor the stars at night, and had no idea where they were, and, not having enough to eat, the men gave up all hope. Hereupon Paul revealed himself, and took the whole shipload in hand. "You ought to have listened to me," said he, "and not have left Crete. However, I have been told by the angel of the God I serve that he has made a present to me, not only of my life, but of that of all of you; not a man shall be lost, though the ship will be, but we shall run to ground upon an island." Towards the midnight of the fourteenth night the sailors did indeed get the impression they were nearing land. They sounded, and found twenty fathoms; they sounded again, and found fifteen. Terrified lest they should be swept on to rocks, they let down four anchors from the stern, and prayed for day to come. The crew, however, with the desperate selfishness of panic, determined to escape and leave the others to their fate. They were actually beginning to let down the skiff on the pretext of seeing to the anchors, when Paul, who guessed their intention, said to his friend Julius: "If those men leave the ship, all of you will be lost." Whereupon the soldiers cut the tackle that was holding the skiff up, and it fell into the sea. Just as

it began to dawn Paul reminded the men that they had been for a fortnight practically foodless, assured them once more that not a hair of their heads was going to perish, and set the example by taking some bread, returning thanks to God, and beginning to eat. Whereupon they took courage, all came up on deck, and began to make a meal. "There were 266 of us on board," says St Luke, who perhaps had so far never seen everyone together. So sure were they now of getting to land that after their meal they threw the rest of the provisions overboard.[1] When day broke they could not recognize the coast, but could see a bay with a beach. So, in order to be carried quickly down to it, they let the anchors go, loosened the ropes that had been holding the rudder rigid, put up a small sail, and made for shore. Unfortunately an invisible sandbank or narrow neck of land projected in their course; they ran straight on to it, and the prow stuck fast. The waves buffeted the stern so violently that the danger was extreme, and they no more had the skiff. The soldiers then thought it was better to kill all the prisoners lest they should dive off and escape. But Julius, anxious to save Paul, forbade this, and told them to get to shore as best they could. Some therefore dived and swam, others got ashore with the help of spars, and others were towed in by their friends. So they all were saved (xxvii).

The ship had been swinging to and fro; who

[1] The ship in which Josephus was wrecked, roughly about this time and in these seas, held 600 men altogether.

knows what had been their course during those days? Anyhow, the island they had reached was Malta. It was raining and very cold, and the inhabitants who had come down to the shore showed despatch in lighting a fire for the half-drowned men. Paul collected sticks, and as he put them on the fire a viper came out, in the heat of the flames, and bit him. At once the naïve Maltese decided he was surely a murderer . . . the sea had let him go, but justice still pursued him upon the land. . . . However, as they watched and saw that nothing was happening to him, "they changed their minds and said he was a god." The governor, Publius, was kind to the travellers, and entertained them for three days, his reward being that Paul, finding his host's father sick of fever and dysentery, laid his hand on him, prayed, and healed him. Thereupon from all parts of the island flocked the sick, begging for a cure, and, says the physician Luke, they honoured "us" highly and contributed to our support (xxviii 1-10).

An Egyptian corn-ship, with Castor and Pollux for its patron deities, had wintered at Malta. Julius put the prisoners on board, and they sailed on the very first opportunity, touching at Syracuse in Sicily, where they spent three days, then coasting as far as Rhegium, then crossing the Straits of Messina and sailing direct to Puteoli, to-day Pozzuoli.

For the first time Paul set foot in Italy, on that volcanic shore whose scenery has changed not a little since his day, seeing that the Monte Nuovo, which makes part of its background, did not then

exist, but came up in a night, centuries later. However, the little round temple of Serapis, that goes up and down with the gently swaying shore, and since his arrival has been submerged to half the height of its columns, has risen free once more, and now, I think, is quietly sinking yet again, stood where it still stands, and certainly down much of the Via Appia, by which in a week he began to go to Rome, you can place your feet upon the very stones trodden by St Paul. The week was spent waiting till a courier should return from Rome, who had been sent there by Julius to ask for further instructions; but the stay was a happy one, since there were Christians at Puteoli, overjoyed to see St Paul, and generously hospitable. His joy was redoubled when at Forum Appii, still nearly forty miles from Rome, a number of Roman Christians were found waiting to greet him, and at Three Taverns, a posting-station a little further on, another group awaited him. His courage rose, and he broke into hymns of gratitude. At last, from the crest of a little hill, he looked down upon the distant haze of smoke that denoted Rome. Little else would he have seen, even if the light were favourable. The Capitol and the Palatine would have stood up noticeable with their piled buildings, but Rome was a very crowded place: all the temples and basilicas jostled one another; even from the hills actually round the city, it would have been difficult to get any complete view of what lay so low, and was such a jumble of bricks and tiles. None the less, it was Rome, and Paul had come to his world's centre. He went under

the dripping arch of the Porta Capena, over which water from the Aqua Appia flowed into the city; through very crowded streets he came to the point where Constantine's arch now stands, having passed between the Aventine, with its huge Benedictine monastery, and the Caelian, with St Gregory's church, as his descendants of to-day must see them; not actually entering the Forum, towards which he turned, leaving behind him the place where in but few years the Colosseum would be built, he was taken up the slope to the Palatine where the barracks were. No letters had reached the Jewish community about Paul, and Julius's documents had probably perished in the shipwreck; nobody came to accuse him, and after a while he was sent out of the barracks to live in his own hired house, though always chained to one of the Praetorian Guard, who was changed twice daily, and there along with Luke and Aristarchus he lived for two years (Acts xxviii 11-31).

XIII

AMBASSADOR IN CHAINS

Paul had reached Rome, as he hoped, but not in the way he had hoped. None the less, he never dreamt of not fulfilling his apostolate to the utmost. He had not been there a week before the local Jews called upon him, and though we do not hear that his customary explanation of his creed aroused the same fierce antipathy as elsewhere, the approach of his visitors

was distinctly chilly—they merely said that they had received no information about him, to his credit or the reverse, and that they were ready to be told what he pleased about the new sect, which was everywhere spoken against. Some accepted his message, others rejected it as usual. And as usual, Paul frankly told them that he would turn from them to the pagans (Acts xxviii 28). How he was to do this in his chained and enclosed condition it seemed difficult to foresee. But little by little the house became a meeting-place for men of every nationality and condition, and it is here that a small incident occurred so charming in itself, so full, too, of light both on Paul's character and on his mind, that we must be ever grateful for the survival of it. In Colossae, an Asiatic town of which we shall have more to say, a Christian called Philemon had lived with his wife Apphia and his son Archippus. They had a slave called Onesimus, which means useful or profitable. This slave had stolen and had run away. The legal penalties for this were terrible. At the least the slave would be branded with a hot iron, and since slaves had, technically, no personality at all, their master was free to do exactly as he liked to them. It is true that Philemon was a Christian, but even he might be expected to take severe reprisals. It was a saying that "all the dregs flow to Rome"; Rome was the world's sink. Anyhow, Onesimus found his way there, and, who knows how, met Paul. It is quite likely that he first met a friend of Paul's, Epaphras, who was responsible for the evangelization of the

valley of the Lycus in which Colossae stood, and whom Onesimus could not but have seen often at his master's house, and that Epaphras brought him to Paul. Paul kept him there for a considerable time, using him in all sorts of ways, for running messages and making purchases and so forth, until he should have someone with whom to send him back to his master Philemon. For he could not keep indefinitely another man's property, and he was no doubt sure that Onesimus would not make his way back alone. When at last Paul had written an official letter to the Colossians, which he was sending to that town by Tychicus, he enclosed a small note to Philemon, and sent Onesimus off in his charge. After the salutation, the note went as follows:

I give thanks to my God every time I hear of the faith you have in the Lord Jesus, and of your love for all the faithful, and remember you in my prayers, and ask that your sharing in the faith may become effective *Christwards,* in the clear understanding of the whole of that good thing that is ours. Yes, I have been having great joy and comfort in your love, for the hearts of the faithful have been refreshed through you, dear brother.

So, though I feel quite at liberty, in Christ, to command you to do what is fitting, for love's sake I prefer to entreat you, just for what I am—I, Paul, an ambassador for Jesus Christ, and now his prisoner, too—I entreat you on behalf of this my son, whom I have begotten in my chains, Onesimus, who once did you disservice, but who to you, yes, and to me, is now so serviceable, whom I am sending back to you, himself—that is, my very heart, whom I was so

wishing to keep here beside me—to minister to me in your name, here in these Gospel-chains. But I did not wish to do anything without your approval, so that your kind action might not even seem to be forced on you, but might be free. Perhaps you lost him for a while just for this—that you might have him back for eternity! A slave no more a slave, but higher than slave, a brother beloved, dear most of all to me—nay! more than most of all to you, both in this flesh and in the Lord. So, if you and I are anything to one another, take him to your heart as you would myself. And if he has caused you any loss, put it down to *me*. I, Paul, write this with my own hand. *I* will pay you back; I will not urge that you already owe me your own self. . . . Yes, brother, let me have this service from you, in the Lord. Refresh my heart in Christ. I write to you in full confidence that you will listen to me, knowing indeed that you will do even beyond what I ask. And at the same time prepare a lodging for me, too, for I hope that by your prayers I shall be granted to you. (The Epistle to Philemon.)

It would be, I feel, an impertinence to this little letter, in every line of which the most exquisite courtesy, the most profound spiritual sense, and yet a most tender playfulness breathe, to spend comment upon it. Had these first years of Christianity produced nothing else, in the way of written document, you would know that a great new thing had come into the world.

During this imprisonment Paul wrote many other letters, of which one group—the letters to the Philippians, to the Colossians, and to the Ephesians—has come down to us. These were all written in 61 or 62,

from Rome.[1] The letter to the Philippians stands apart from the others, and was due to a chance occurrence—the arrival in Rome of Epaphroditus, a Philippian entrusted with alms for Paul. In Rome he fell sick, and on recovery became homesick for Philippi, and Paul sent him home with a letter. The letter to the Colossians, and another to Laodicea, Paul gave, as we have said, to Tychicus, who had charge, too, of Onesimus. Each was to read the letter addressed to the other, as well as its own. For these two towns were close together, making, along with Hierapolis, a group of three. Hierapolis and Laodicea are only a few miles apart on either side of the Lycus valley and opposite to one another. Colossae is higher up the valley, on the Lycus itself, about ten miles distant from the other two. Doubtless it was Epaphras, the founder of these churches, who had come to Rome very anxious about the state of his converts, who asked St Paul to write. No doubt Paul could rely on Hierapolis, too, receiving the letters sent to the other two towns, unless he wrote a separate one to it which has been lost. Finally, Ephesus was linked with all these places by trade-routes that went actually up the Lycus valley, and where trade went ideas went too, both wise and false; and Paul, after writing his letters to the little Lycus group, sent a more developed edition, so to say, to the Christian communities of which Ephesus was the head. The letter to the Ephesians is no mere expansion of that

[1] In a book like this I do not add at every turn a qualification, like "without reasonable doubt," as I might do here.

to the Colossians, but stands to it, very likely, in the same relation as that to the Romans did to the letter to the Galatians.

Briefly, what was happening in the Lycus valley to disturb Epaphras? Not, it would seem, the old difficulty with the Judaizing conservatives. Paul's doctrine and practice had by now won the day. There was a tinge of Judaism in what Paul had to warn the converts against; but the only fierce outbreak occurs in the letter to the Philippians, and is not by any means the main purpose of the letter, and could quite well have been occasioned by something that happened in Rome itself while Paul was writing, or even by the memory of the sort of thing that used to trouble him when he first made the Philippians' acquaintance. At any rate, Paul's attitude towards any Judaism to be found among the people he is now writing to is very mild compared to his old indignation. It is true that thousands of Jews populated Asia Minor; but they had become, if not paganized, at least much diluted in their Palestinianism, and ready at least to discuss matters with the thoughtful or devout pagan. That world simply seethed with quasi-philosophical, quasi-theological systems and theories. But I think it quite out of place to seek for any one system, Jewish, pagan, or mixed, against which the local Christians should be thought of as contending. The various tendencies had not yet crystallized into sects. But an insatiable curiosity tormented minds: emotions readily responded to the suggestions of fear and created strange superstitions;

and the Asiatic temperament was susceptible of alternating gusts of self-indulgent and self-punitive passion. Intellectually, these men were honestly trying to form some sort of theology; ethically, to govern their lives—to discipline behaviour. Hence, among non-Christians, an asceticism which, not being supernatural, became anti-natural: Paul speaks of a voluntary self-abasement and an ill-treatment of the body, which are, says he, quite valueless against fleshly gratification (indeed, as psychology very well knows, they would stimulate it, and even in a sense proceed from it).[1] But curiosity turned not only towards the origin of evil and how to get rid of wrong, but to the origin of all things whatsoever. So theories of creation were being thought out; and since it was often held incredible that God the Unnameable, Invisible and Immutable should have any kind of contact with what was material, an immense hierarchy of intermediate existences was invented, and interposed between God and men. To these, which Paul calls sometimes just "angels," at other times "principalities, powers, dominations," and so forth, and on whose goodness or badness he is not insisting, but simply on their nature—neither divine nor human—a complicated cult was often paid. Here

[1] Col. ii 23. Literally, "a non-sparing of the body, etc., things that are not in any honour, *scl.*, should not be esteemed as of any value, with regard to the fattening of the flesh." "Fattening" seems to mean "full gratification." The cult of the Asiatic goddess Cybele, which retained its savage mutilations and penances at least in the mountains that made a psychic as well as material background to the city-life, gave full scope alike to self-torture and debauchery.

were most of the elements of the various Gnostic sects to be formed later. All these theorists liked to describe their systems as "philosophy," or what we should call "occult knowledge" or "esoteric lore," and on the pagan side looked towards those "mystery-initiations" to which Paul definitely alludes in Col. ii 18, where initiates "saw" or were "shown" (as the technical phrases went) strange symbols from which they derived a "special knowledge" of which they were very proud; among Christians an allied temper was sometimes found, in those who, all unguided, were naturally beginning to muse upon the mysterious dogmas of their faith. The era of Christian "philosophers," or rather theologians, had not yet fully dawned.

Paul will therefore insist in these letters, first of all, upon the true and unique personality of Christ, and then on his rôle in creation and salvation. He assigns clearly to our Lord his position in relation to the Father, to the invisible world of spirits, and to us. It is in the letter to the Ephesians that he more fully works out the consequences of this as regards the Church, the "complement" of Christ, his mystical body.

The letter to the Philippians, though belonging to the same group in time and in other ways, is simple. Paul loved the Philippians very warmly, for he saw in them his first group of European converts. Such had been their unmanageable devotion that he actually allowed them to send alms for his personal support,

contrary to his custom of relying entirely on his earnings. There had been a break in their offerings, but now that he was in prison they began again to send them. He writes to thank them, sending the letter by the Philippian Epaphroditus, who had been ill in Rome, was convalescent, but homesick. He hopes soon to send Timothy too, and best, if last, to come himself, since he foresees his proximate release. He tells them how he loves them, how he relies on them, how his imprisonment does not prevent the spread of the Gospel, but rather the opposite; has to mention—for Epaphroditus would be sure to do so, and Paul prefers to put the matter in what his charity considers to be the true perspective—that there were those in Rome who did not like him, but profited by his detention to exert renewed activities, and so to steal a march on him in the matter of local influence —but never mind, he cries: however mixed their motives, Christ is preached. One has to remember that there were two sides to the question, and that the sudden appearance of St Paul, a man of devouring energy, drawing all things to himself, though despite himself, was likely very much to ruffle those who were conscious that they had already done a good deal of work in a place and had organized what seemed to them a fairly satisfactory community. Paul suffered acutely from these personal discords; at times life itself became to him intolerable. All he longed for was to *see* the Christ whose abiding presence is with him even now. His great consolation was to be the fidelity of the Philippians. At

least, among them let there be no quarrels, no self-seeking. He just hints that two ladies in particular might unselfishly make friends. . . . Something may have happened at this point to make him boil up in indignation against the Judaizing party, whether any of them were present at Philippi or not. It was never out of place, he knows, to warn the new Christians against those who would replunge them into the formalism of the Old Law. But on the whole the letter is full of happiness and spiritual peace, and in these he wants all his children to share.

After saluting them he cries out that he gives "thanks to my God in *all* my thoughts of you, in all my prayer at all times for all of you—and with joy I make that prayer, because of our fellowship in the spreading of the Gospel from the very first day till now." He is sure that God, who began this good work in them, will bring it to perfection. "I hold you in my heart. . . . God is my witness how I long for you—with the very heart of Christ."

And he prays that their love and Christian insight may increase till the fruit, sprung from righteousness, have reached maturity, to the glory and praise of God (9-11).

He proceeds to give them news about himself:

I want you to know, my brothers, that what has happened to me has rather made for the advance of the Gospel (than the contrary), since my imprisonment has become known—Christ-wise—to the whole Praetorian Guard and to everybody else. The bulk of our Christian brethren are all the bolder, because

of my chains, to preach the Word of God fearlessly. It is true that there are some who preach Christ actually through envy and party zeal, though others, of course, through good will. Some do it out of love, knowing that I simply exist for the defence of the Gospel, but others through factiousness and with mixed motives preach Christ, thinking thus to stir up annoyance for me in my chains. . . . But what does it matter? Anyhow, one way or another, sincerely or insincerely, Christ is being preached. And in that I rejoice—yes, and shall go on rejoicing, for I know that this will "issue for me into sanctification" (as Job says), thanks to your prayers and to the co-operation given by the Spirit of Christ. As I hope and expect, I shall be put to shame no whit; but right manifestly, as ever, so now, shall Christ be magnified in this body of mine, whether by means of its life or of its death. Oh! to me life *is* Christ, and death but gain. Gain . . . yes. But if bodily life means for me work and fruit—ah! what to choose I know not! I am gripped this side and that! Yet to remain in the flesh is more necessary, for *your* sakes. Indeed, I know with full confidence that I shall remain on close to all of you for your progress and joy in the faith, so that you may overflow with exultation in Christ Jesus because of me and of my presence once more among you. Only, live a life worthy of the Gospel of Christ, so that whether I come and see you, or whether I am absent and (only) hear about you, I may know that you are standing firm in the Spirit, with one soul fighting side by side in the faith of the Gospel, and in no way disturbed because of our adversaries. Such constancy will be a proof to them that their cause is lost, but that *you* are saved—and that by God! For to you has been freely given, on Christ's account, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for him, and to have the

very same fight which you saw in my person and now are hearing about me (12-30).

He passionately implores them not to permit among themselves the factiousness that was so distressing him at Rome.

If, then, you have any Christian comfort to offer me, any loving encouragement, any spiritual communion, if you have any heart, any compassion, (show it by) filling up my joy by having one mind, one love, one soul, one thought. Do nothing out of factiousness, nothing out of ostentation, but in humility think each of you the others better than himself. Let each man look not to his own interests, but each to those of the others. Let the mind that was Jesus Christ's be in you too. He, though by nature and origin he is God, yet did not think the being treated as on an equality with God was something to be snatched at; but he emptied himself by taking the nature of a slave, and became, to the outward eye, just what *man* is. And being thus displayed in outward form a man, he humbled himself (yet further), and made himself obedient unto death—yes, a death upon a cross. *That* is why God has utterly exalted him, and has lavished on him the Name that is above all names, so that at the Name of Jesus every knee should kneel, "in heaven, on earth, and under the earth" (Isa. xlv 23), and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, in the glory of God the Father.

Wherefore do you, beloved, who have always been obedient, not as though only in my presence, but now all the more when I am absent, with fear and trembling work out your own salvation, (yet not just you) since it is God who works within you both the will and the deed, to fulfil his own good pleasure.

Do everything without carpings or criticisms, so as to be flawless and undiluted, "children of God," blameless in a generation that is perverse and distorted. In it you must appear like stars in the sky, holding on to the Word of Life, so that I may boast, in the day of Christ, that not for nothing I have run my race, and not for nothing laboured. Nay, even if I am to be poured out, as a libation, over the sacrifice and service of your faith, I rejoice, and share the joy of all of you. And do you similarly rejoice and share *my* joy (ii 1-18).

Amazing paragraphs. What sends Paul's mind soaring towards the supreme example of selflessness is his wish that the Philippians should be unselfish, should not fight each for his own hand, but should yield even his due for the sake of others. He is not *setting out* to make some theological disquisition nor to controvert a falsehood. He alludes once more to what could be taken for granted, to what was more universally accepted than the virtue of self-postponement was practised. This is impressive, as the strongest sort of proof of what Christian dogma at the time was, and also it would account for his not picking his words, nor taking elaborate pains to express in any fully developed theological formula the doctrine to which he alludes. None the less, it is most accurately stated. He whom we know as Jesus Christ was and is—such is the implication of St Paul's word μορφή—of the nature and essence of God—that is, God.[1] Further, the word explains why Christ's

[1] Plato, even Aristotle, and writers contemporary with the New Testament, though not Christian, like Josephus and Philo,

human life was a self-emptying. Not only, because he was by nature and in origin God, was a self-emptying needed if he were to be perceived by us as man, but in his human life itself he freely gave up that exterior homage that he would rightly have found had he appeared to the eye in divine splendour (as, for example, at the Transfiguration). The words ἴσα τῷ θεῷ do not mean "to *be* equal with God"—indeed, he never could cease to be that—but to be put on the same rank with, to receive equality of treatment with, God. The eternal Son of God did not consider that that to which he was indeed entitled was something to be held on to—snatched hold of—at all costs, but was content with the treatment that his incarnate life should, in its natural sequence, win for him.[1] The Son of God, then, equal in all things to the Father, was content to strip himself of that exterior honour that to him, together with the Father, was due. And having become man, he went still deeper—he was willing to die, and that by the most humiliating death known.[2]

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use the word μορφή, as St Paul does, to mean something intrinsic to the very nature of what is being spoken of.

[1] This is the usual view of the Greek Fathers. The Latins, not so accustomed, perhaps, to the all but technical use of the word ἁρπαγμός, thought that the text meant that our Lord did not think equality of treatment, or *assessment*, so to say, with God, was a theft, because it was a right.

[2] There is, of course, no suggestion here that our Lord somehow abdicated his divine nature—an impossibility, since God is immutable—nor even that he intrinsically diminished his divine knowledge or power. Being, and therefore remaining God, he yet took up a truly human nature, was recognized as truly and

Paul hopes, he continues, soon to send Timothy to them—no one so "one in soul" with Paul as he; so genuinely interested in the Philippians' affairs—unlike, alas, the many who seek but their own interests. . . . (19-24).

Also I thought that I could not but send to you Epaphroditus, my brother and fellow-worker and fellow-soldier, and *your* envoy and minister to my need. He was homesick for all of you, and distressed at your hearing he was ill. And so he was—almost to death. But God had pity on him, and not on him only but on me, lest I should have sorrow upon sorrow. . . . Receive him, then, in the Lord with all joy. Honour such men. Because it was for the work of Christ that he nearly died, hazarding his life to make up for what you yourselves could not do for my service (25-30).

The Philippians, unable, obviously, to come all of them to Rome, sent Epaphroditus as their envoy and he nearly died in the unaccustomed climate.

What happened, at this point, to change Paul's whole mood and the tone of his letter? Some chance interruption, telling him of further Judaizing baseness? Abruptly he proceeds:

To rewrite to you what I have already written is not tedious to me, and *is* useful to you. Look at those dogs! Look at those evil-doers! Look at those—mutilators! *We* are the "true" circumcision, who

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without exemptions man, and subjected his life to many limitations, including that of the exterior honour that was due to him. Similarly, let the Philippians set no limit, in his train, to their self-abnegation.

worship in the Spirit of God, whose boast is Jesus Christ, and who do *not* trust in the flesh. Though if anyone thinks he *can* trust in the flesh, much more can I—I, circumcised when eight days old, of the race of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew born of Hebrews: in law-observance, a Pharisee; in zeal, a persecutor of the Church; in the righteousness proper to the Law found flawless. But what counted as gain to me, that have I come to reckon, for Christ's sake, to be loss. Yea, assuredly all do I count for loss, for the sake of the overwhelming knowledge of Jesus Christ my Lord, for whose sake I suffer the loss of all things; yes, I count them as trash if but I gain Christ, and be found *in him*, not having for my righteousness that which comes by law, but that which comes by faith in Christ, the righteousness that is from God, founded upon faith—that I may know him and the power of his resurrection — yes, and the fellowship with his sufferings, if so be I may thus attain to the resurrection from the dead (iii 1-11).

Not, Paul continues, that he is already made perfect irrevocably.

"Rather do I press on to lay hold of that whereby Christ has laid hold of me." (Christ, risen and triumphant, offers fellowship in resurrection to all who will take it. Paul wills to lay hold on that resurrection which is the method, so to say, by which Christ himself lays hold of souls to vivify them.) "One thing I do—I forget what is behind—I strain out to what is yet before: eye on goal, I press towards the prize of the heavenward call of God in Christ Jesus" (12-14).

"Such, then," Paul says quietly, "should be the thoughts of us who are mature. And if on any point

you think differently—well, God will reveal that too to you. Only, to whatever point we have attained, as from that point let us proceed." He implores them once more to take him as model and not those who, "as I have often said to you, and now repeat with tears, walk as enemies of the Cross of Christ." Their religion, rooted in observances of legalistic sort, was an earthly one—foods, circumcision, what not—"whereas our whole existence is heavenly—even as from heaven we await as Saviour our Lord Jesus Christ, who will transform this poor body of ours into the very likeness of his glorious body, according to the energizing of his power in very deed to subordinate all things to himself" (17-21).

After a few words of advice, and a wonderful little picture of those virtues which make the Christian life all of peace, he returns to thanking the Philippians for their generosity towards him.

It was a great joy to me in the Lord that at last you have renewed your thought for me—or, rather, you always *thought*, but you had no opportunity (of acting as you wished). I don't imply that I have been in want; for I have learnt how to be independent in any actual circumstances. I know how to live humbly; I know how to have abundance. Yes, I have been initiated into all and everything—into feeding and fasting, into wealth and want. I have strength for everything, in him who strengthens me. However, it was kind of you to take share and part in my affliction. And you yourselves know well, Philippians, that in the first days of the Gospel, when I came out of Macedonia, no church "opened an account" with me—debit and credit—save you only.

Indeed, when I was in Thessalonika, once and yet again you sent to minister to my needs. Not that I come begging for your gifts; but I do earnestly ask for the profit therefrom that is accumulating to *your* account. I have received everything; I am in abundance. I am filled to overflowing now that I have received from Epaphroditus the gifts you have sent me. And God in Christ shall repay you according to the riches of his glory. All of us here salute you, especially those who belong to the imperial household. Grace be with you (iv).

It really seems, then, that this letter on which we have spent so much space had been intended just as a warm expression of thanks from Paul to his very dear Philippians. Unselfish, indeed, it was to send Epaphroditus back at all; still more so to propose to send St Timothy. Paul was lonelier, one can see, than he allows himself to say. Indeed, in that city where "all," he insists, are seeking their own interests life had become so difficult that the thought of death became almost irresistibly sweet. Still, he will live on for the sake of his converts, for the humblest of men sees that God still means to make use of him, and it is no part of humility to deny the truth.

But notice now the habit of Paul's mind. It is difficult for him so much as to look towards the mighty truths of faith, or again, to the person of Jesus Christ, without his whole life surging up into passionate acclaim. "If I live—well, life is Christ! But if I die—ah! I shall see him, and that is far, far better." Still, Christ *is*, not only will be, Paul's All in all. He is gripped and pulled this side and that:

dying, he will perceive that which he knows even now by faith; but living, he *is* in very fact incorporate with Jesus, and can do further work. . . . Yes! It seems to him that there is almost an element of selfishness in the desire to die—what a man, whose selfishness is summed up in the desire for heaven! And from the apex of his vision he sinks back to the earth of consecrated service. Again, to illustrate unselfishness, he looks away to Christ's own chosen self-emptying; but the very mention of that descent into flesh, and thence into the destiny of flesh, death, and a death on a cross, sends him leaping once more heavenwards in ecstatic homage to the Name thus won by Jesus that is above all creation. And when he tries to say that he has willingly abdicated the privileges of the Jew, for the sake of Christ, he sees in a flash that not these alone, but all the world, were well forsaken for that overwhelming prize. Yet, in this completest of men, sense of possession does not annul the will to strive; ecstasy never spoils the clarity of thought, nor vision confuse dogma; nor yearning prayer for peace unnerve him for his work. All Paul is in this letter to the Christians of Philippi.

We proceed directly to the other two letters of this period, taking that to the Colossians first.

Paul begins by assuring the Colossians that though he has but heard of them from Epaphras, he does not cease praying for them, which, may we say in passing, is an unintended proof of Paul's complete lack of jealousy or of wanting to be the first in everything.

He is full of tenderest sympathy for souls, be they his own converts or another's. Even in the little preface to the letter the words "complete knowledge," "full knowledge," "thorough understanding" occur, and will become the dominant notes of the letter. May they increase, he prays, in these and all other good gifts of God, till they share in the "inheritance of the saints in light" (Col. i 1-12).

Yes! God has delivered us from the power of darkness, and has carried us across into the kingdom of the Son of his love, in whose person we have our redemption, the remission of our sins.

For Christ is—
The image of God the invisible,
Born first, before all creation.
Yea, *in* him were created all things:
Things in heaven, or on earth,
Things visible and invisible,
Be they thrones or dominations, principalities or powers;
By means of him, and unto him, they all of them are created.
And himself is prior to all,
And in himself do all things hold together.
Yea, and himself is the Head of the body—that is, of the Church,
He who is origin, (and again) firstborn from the dead,
That so he might in all things stand forth first.

For in him it has pleased the Father to make the whole Plenitude to dwell, and by means of him to reconcile all things to himself—alike things on the earth and things in heaven, having made peace by the blood of his Cross. Yes, you, who were once

aliens and (even) hostile in mind through your evil deeds, you now has Christ restored and reconciled by his human body—by means of death—that he might present you holy and flawless and unimpeachable in God's sight (12-22).

But for that, Paul insists, they must remain foundationed and settled firm upon the faith, that Gospel whereof they, like all the world, have heard, and whereof he has been made the special minister (23).

That is why I rejoice in my sufferings on your account, and make up from my side what is lacking in the pains of Christ, in *my* flesh, on behalf of *his* body—that is, the Church. Her minister have I been made, according to the duty committed to me by God on your account. This is, to express in its fullness the Word of God, the Mystery that has lain hidden away from past ages and generations, but now has been manifested to God's saints. To them God has willed to make known the richness of the glory of this Mystery among the (very) pagans—namely, *Christ in you,* our hope of glory. Him we proclaim, urging it on every man, teaching every man with all wisdom, that we may present every man mysteriously perfected in Christ. Yes, for *this* I strain and struggle in the measure of that energy of his that energizes so mightily in me (24-29).

Paul wishes them to know how earnestly he prays for them as for the Laodiceans and all who have not seen his face, that they may be "brought harmoniously together in love, and led to the complete and rich fulfilment of their intelligence, the complete understanding of the mystery of God, Christ, in whom all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge lie

stored away." "I say this that no one may plausibly and persuasively talk you astray. For though I certainly am absent in body, yet in spirit I am with you, joyfully contemplating your orderly lines and mass formation in the faith in Christ that is yours" (ii 1-5).[1]

Paul having thus asserted the unique position held by the Son of God incarnate, in whose one person the nature both of God and of man are conjoined, so that in a true sense he is the sum of all that is, proceeds to teach that by incorporation with him, and only thus, does man achieve his own true life.

As, then, you have received and accepted Jesus Christ, the Lord, in him you must walk, in him rooted, in him built up, and buttressed by the faith as you were taught (it), brimming over with gratitude. See that there be no one who shall carry you off as the prey of his "philosophy," and fanciful sophistries according to mere human formulas, according to this-world stuff, and not according to Christ. Because in Christ it is that (God) makes to dwell the plenitude of the Godhead bodily, and it is in him that you reach your own fulfilment, in him who is the head of every principality or power. And it is in him that you have been circumcised with no mere physical circumcision, but with the complete stripping off of the whole of your fleshly life by means of the circumcision that belongs to Christ.

Along with him were you buried—in baptism; in him, along with him, you have, too, been raised (again) to life by means of your faith in the power of God that raised *him* from the dead. Yes, you, dead

[1] Recall that he was living constantly among soldiers. So, too, in Philippians this sort of metaphor occurs.

in your sins and in the uncircumcision of your flesh, with him, along with him, has God made alive, freely pardoning all your sins, cancelling the decrees of the writing that stood against us—yes, (Christ) took it right away, and nailed it to the Cross. Thus did he cast off from himself the principalities and the powers, and made an open show of them, and in his own person led them away in triumph (6-15).

Only at the end of our résumé of this letter shall we recall its total doctrine, but this passage needs, perhaps, a short immediate explanation. Paul is repeating that Christ in his one self sums up all the divine action that regards mankind, and that there is no need, for any purpose whatsoever, metaphysical or moral, of intermediary creations. But in this passage, which concerns redemption primarily, he uses a double dramatic metaphor. A bill of indictment lay against us—not only the exigencies of the Old Law, but also our personal history of sin. Christ, by dying for us, cancelled it, and the cancelled document is, as it were, nailed up for all to see upon the Cross on which he, the adequate sacrifice, is hanging. Also, humanity was, as it were, in the thrall of all manner of forces and "powers," whether of the devil or of sin, or, again, just of legalism in the case of the Jews; though indeed the Law stood against all humanity, for none could observe its enactments duly. These clung to human life and shackled its every step. Christ, taking humanity up into himself, tore the clinging entanglements from himself, and went forth displaying in his own person the freedom

of humanity and the disgrace of its enemies. It is often said that St Paul scarcely mentions the human life of Jesus. It is true that he alludes but seldom to its actual events, save the great crises of birth, death, and resurrection, and the institution of the Eucharist. But the human Christ is ever in his thoughts, and at the back of his imagination, so to say. As Paul wrote the words just quoted, he cannot but have held, in his imagination, the Crucifixion. I think he at least found it *easier* to write as he did, because he saw—it, well may be, half-consciously—the title above the Cross, and Christ dying stripped. *This*, he goes on, is the sole material of redemption.

Therefore let no man pass verdict on you in regard of food or drink, or on topics of new moons or sabbaths. These were but the shadow of the future (reality)—the substance belongs to Christ! Let no one play cheating umpire at your expense, by uncalled-for grovellings and fawnings upon angels—taking his mystic's stand on things he has been "shown," and not holding fast to the Head, which is Christ. For from this Head the whole body, kept going and knit together by means of the joints and sinews, shall grow with the growth that comes from God (16-19).[1]

If, then, you have *died* with Christ away from the worldly stuff, why then, as though you were living a

[1] In ii 18 some MSS. read "taking his stand (a technical word in the "mystery" ritual) on things he has *not* seen." (To "see" was another technical word.) If this be right, Paul must be thought of as almost deriding the claim to special sight and knowledge on the initiate's part. "On things that he has 'seen.' . . . Seen? No! He never really 'saw' anything. He takes his stand on things he did *not* see."

this-world life, do you put up with being dictated to —Don't handle, don't taste, don't touch? All these material things are meant to be used and so to perish. Those are the "precepts and doctrines of men." True, they wear an appearance of (special) "wisdom," what with their voluntary devotions and self-humiliations and physical asceticism, though these are of no value to check (even the most) complete self-indulgence (*cf.* p. 199 n.).

But if you have *risen* too with Christ, seek what is above—where Christ is "seated on the right hand of God." Think heavenly things, not earthly ones. For you *did* die, and the life that (now) is yours is a life hidden with Christ in God; and when Christ, our Life, shall appear, then you too, with him, shall be made manifest in glory (ii 20-iii 4).

He bids them then "put to death" the limbs, so to say, of their earthly life, and all evil works. "Strip off utterly the old self, with its works, and put on the new self, that is ever being renewed unto perfect knowledge according to the image of its Creator."

In the new humanity there is not Greek and Jew; circumcision and uncircumcision; foreigner, barbarian; slave, free. But All, and in all, is Christ (5-11).

He concludes his letter, as always, with practical moral advice. Let every virtue that binds men together be theirs, above all, love. "And in your hearts let the peace of Christ stand arbiter, to which you were indeed called, in (the membership of the) one body. . . . Whatsoever you do, in work or word, do it all in the name of the Lord Jesus." In

particular he gives advice to wife and husband, to parent and to child, that the family, too, may be one on its humbler yet most sacred level. And as for slaves, let them—

obey in all things their human masters, not with eye-service, just pleasing men, but in simplicity of heart holding in awe the Lord. . . . Be slaves to *Christ*. . . . And, masters, be just and fair to your slaves, knowing that you, too, have a Lord—in heaven (12-iv 1).

He begs their prayers—

That the Lord may open a door for the Gospel, that I may tell the mystery of Christ—for the sake of which I am a prisoner—that I may tell it forth as I ought. With regard to those outside (the Church), walk discreetly, using your time to the full; and let your talk be at all times "graced"—seasoned as it were with salt—that you may know what answer to give to every man (2-6).

He concludes with special greetings, including one from "Luke, the dear doctor," and says:

After this letter has been read aloud to you, have it read out, too, to the Church in Laodicea, and see that you yourselves read out the one sent to Laodicea. . . . "Greeting written with my own hand.—PAUL. Remember me in prison. Grace be with you" (10-end).

In this letter, then, St Paul only denies some of the ideas circulating among the Colossians in order to assert others that are deeper and wider. He decries what they are told is "philosophy," only to assure

them that they *are* to hope for and to achieve a "full knowledge" of the things of God and of our Lord. The word *epi-gnosis*, or super-understanding, keeps recurring. But to get this Christians must be taught their faith, adhere to, and practise it; they must not run round listening to the crude or airy surmises of their Jewish or pagan neighbours. Least of all must they attend to men who say they have been initiated into some "mystery cult," where they have been "shown" and have "seen" things granted only to an *élite*, denied to the ruck of believers. Nor must they entertain notions like that of a whole hierarchy of intermediate beings between God and man, who all of them require worship, and can be propitiated by arbitrary penances and so forth. There is *not* any such thing as that, and there *is* much better.

He begins by stating a sort of synthesis of the whole Christian scheme—God's method of dealing with the world. In it there are only three terms—God, Christ, man. God by essence the invisible, yet has his image, the Son, begotten by God before all creation; and as for this creation, it was all made *through* him, and *in* him, and *to* him—that is, as men were later on to say, the Son, and he alone, is at once the efficient cause, the conserving cause, and the final cause of the world. Through him the world was made; through him it subsists; unto him it is destined and directed. Possibly "in" him means that the world is in him as in its "exemplary" cause, as a work of art is "in" its model. But I prefer to think that St Paul means that in so far as the world has

unity and intelligibility, it finds these in the pervasive presence and activity of Christ throughout history. Moreover, Paul insists that in "creation" he includes all things whatsoever, all angels or spirits however high in nature.

Christ thus is the *Pleroma* . . . the Plenitude.

It is impossible here fully to discuss this word. Unfortunately, there is no word in English allied to plenitude by which to translate the Greek verb that is cognate to it. We have to say "fulfil." But this has come practically to mean, with us, the accomplishment of a prophecy or promise. Later on the word *pleroma* meant, on Gnostic lips, the totality of all those mysterious emanations from the divinity which Gnostics loved to catalogue. Already the Colossians, or their environment, were beginning, as we saw, to interpose such existences between God and man.[1]

Paul, then, means, when he says that the *pleroma*, or plenitude of the divinity, resides corporally in Christ, that it is *not* spread out and progressively diluted through innumerable angels and other spirits. At any rate, when he says this (Col. ii 9), he asserts that God has established the complete divine nature

[1] Of course, neither Paul nor we deny that many mysterious beings do exist besides man, to which we give the name of angels and so forth. But in these semi-pagan systems such beings were invented because God was supposed to be unable to meet with matter on any terms whatsoever, and these existences were held *necessary* if men were so much as to be created, let alone rise, as by a ladder, from one spirit to the next and purer one, to his divine goal. That rôle, attributed to such spirits, is what Paul is denying, not their existence.

in Jesus—that is, that Jesus Christ *is* God in the full and permanent sense. When he says (i 19) that God has willed to place the whole plenitude in Christ, he probably means not exactly that, but its necessary consequence—that Christ has that plenitude of grace which is indeed the result of his divine nature, but which is in him *for us*, "of his fullness all we have received" (John i 16). When in the letter to the Ephesians (iii 19) Paul bids *us* be filled with all the plenitude of God, he must mean that we are to be filled full of God's infinite store of graces so far as he can communicate them to finite creatures and they receive them. He may mean much the same when in Eph. iv 13 he prays that we may be formed into a perfect man, having for measure, or standard, the plenitude of Christ—let us aspire to become, in our measure, as totally perfect as Christ is in his; or he may be using the word in its other great sense—the Church is the plenitude of Christ in the active sense; it fills Christ himself up to the measure that he looks forward to. Christ considers himself incomplete until he shall have incorporated the entire destined Church with himself. This is the meaning of Eph. i 23, when Paul says that Christ is the head of the Church that is his body, the full-filling of him who is thus wholly completing himself in all. And the same doctrine is implied when Paul says that he "fills up" in his own flesh what is "lacking" in the sufferings of Christ—not that those sufferings were inadequate for our salvation, but that Christ in and by means of us still is growing—he has *not* yet

reached the "perfect man," the "measure of his maturity" (Eph. iv 13), because though the head is perfect, the body is not; and the body is not (St Paul would say) so long as any one of its limbs is not, or, as we might say, so long as a single cell in its tissue is not alive with the life of the whole. It will therefore be useful to keep our eye upon all words involving the idea "fulfilment" in this letter. It is again clear that our life and Christ's are inextricably intertwined. His whole history repeats itself in us. With him we die to the old isolated naturalistic life; with him we rise to a new *sort* of life; we have finished with the "elements" of mere nature—the A B C of creation—"this-world" stuff or material; we live a life of true communion with God through Christ, to be slain only by sin. In short, fix your mind on four great senses of *pleroma*—the absolute infinity of God; the full personal indwelling of God in Christ; the progressive filling-up of the mystical Christ by Christians successively incorporated in him; and the ultimate plenitude to be realized at the consummation, when God and world through Christ are in full communion, and Christ is All in all.

Though the letter to the Ephesians is, as we said, more of an official circular summing up the sort of doctrine that Paul saw to be needed in Asia in the circumstances, yet it will be seen to do more than merely recapitulate that to the Colossians. In a line, *Colossians* seems to me to emphasize the truth about Christ, and to allude to the mystical nature of the Church rather as a consequence of this; *Ephesians*

does indeed insist upon our Lord's unique nature and position, but more, perhaps, *in order to* develop what the Catholic doctrine of his mystical body is. In Colossians, we are what we are, because he is what he is; in Ephesians, we see that he has become what he is, that we may become his body.

Blessed be God (exclaims the Apostle without a moment's delay), the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who himself has blessed us with every spiritual blessing in the heavenly world, *in Christ*, even as *in him* he singled us out before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and flawless before him. Yes, in love singled he us out, for adoption as his sons, by means of Jesus Christ, according to the good pleasure of his will, unto the praise and glory of his free grace —grace that he has lavished upon us in the person of his beloved one. In him, by means of his blood, we have our redemption, the remission of our sins, according to the riches of his grace—grace that he has caused to brim over upon us along with all wisdom and understanding, in that he has made known to us the mystery of his will, according to his good pleasure.

This he set forth in (Christ's) person, to be dispensed to us as the ages drew to their fulfilment. He willed to bring all things as to a head in Christ—things heavenly and things earthly—in Christ, seeing that in *him* we have our lot assigned to us. For (so) were we predestined according to the purpose of him who energizes in all things according to the counsel of his will, that we should turn out unto the praise of his glory; we Jews, as having from the outset hoped in Christ, (and you too, since) in him you too are, who have listened to the true doctrine, the Gospel of your salvation. In him you believed, and were sealed with

the Holy Spirit as he promised. The Spirit is the pledge of our inheritance unto our ransom, unto our redemption, unto the praise of his glory (i 3-14).

Once more, Paul's vision sweeps from end to end of existence without hesitation—all that we have quoted, breaking it up, is one vast sentence in the original. He sees God, and God's creative act, and God's eternal intention in thus creating, and God's concentration, so to say, of reality in Christ so that things do not achieve their full meaning, carry out the purpose of their existence, till they be supernaturally "oned" in and through him, albeit such a meaning and a purpose are freely added to creation by the gift of God, and are not necessarily included in the nature of the world—twice over freely, indeed, since we have sinned, and need not only God's gift to glorify us, but God's gift to redeem us. Enough. Paul sees the consummated universe, and sees its consummation not as a *distant date*—the end for him is no mere finish—but as the heaping up of all the past, as of all future ages, into Christ. The world, heaped up towards Christ, transfused with his life—that, for Paul, is the consummation of God's creative work.

He proceeds to thank God for the faith of the Ephesians, and to beg for them that God will give them

a spirit of wisdom and revelation in the full knowledge of him—pour light on to the eyes of your hearts so that you may know what is the hope to which he calls you—what is the wealth of his inherit-

ance among the saints, what is the overwhelming greatness of his power towards you who believe . . . (for) it is on the scale of the energy of the might of his strength that he made to act in the person of Christ by raising him from the dead and seating him on his right hand in the heavens high above all rule and dominion and power and lordship and every name that can be named, not only in this life but in the next! Yes, all things hath he set under his feet, and him hath he placed as the Head Supreme for the Church—that is his body—the full-filling of him who is fulfilling himself, fully, in all things (15-23).

You too, dead once in your offences and your sins, wherein you walked according to the life proper to this material world—according to the powers that have rule in this low atmosphere, of the spirit that is now active in the race of the disobedient—yes, among them we too, all of us, once on a time lived our life in the lusts of our flesh, doing the whims of the flesh and of our own notions—yes, we (Jews) were a race of wrath, from birth, like the rest—you, then, God, rich in mercy (makes alive). Owing to the great love with which he loved us, dead as we were in our offences he co-vivifies with Christ—yes, by free grace are you saved. With him he raises us, and with him hath set us down in a heavenly world, in Jesus Christ, that he might display to the ages yet to come the overwhelming wealth of his grace and goodness towards us in Christ Jesus. By free grace you are saved by means of faith, and that, not as from yourselves—God's is the gift! Not as by means of works, lest a man might boast. *His* making are we, created in Jesus Christ, grounded upon good works that he has prepared beforehand for us to walk in.

So remember that you, once upon a time pagans in your flesh—who are (even now) called The Uncircumcision by those who are called The Circumcision—

though that (too) is in the flesh and made by (human) hand—well, remember that at that time you were Christless, aliens from the Commonwealth of Israel, strangers to the covenants and the promises, having no hope, without God in the world. But now, you that were once so distant have, in Christ Jesus, been made near, through the blood of Christ. He, he is our peace, he who made the two to be one, who broke down the wall between, the barrier, the enmity. In his own flesh he has annulled the law of (those) commandments and decrees, that he might in himself establish the two to be one new man, and make peace, and reconcile the two in one body to God through the Cross, slaying their enmity in his own death. And so he came and preached peace to you who were far off, and peace to them that were near, because through him we both have access in one Spirit to the Father. Therefore you are no longer strangers and foreigners, but you are co-citizens of the saints and of the household of God, built up on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the corner stone. In him all the building is closely fitted together, and grows into a temple holy to the Lord, in whom you, too, are being built together into a spiritual dwelling-place for God (ii).

Paul says they know how he, God's prisoner for their sakes, drew his knowledge of this mystery, the mystery of Christ, from revelation—former ages knew it not—the revelation that the pagans were to be co-heirs, co-partners, co-corporate in the promise in Jesus Christ by means of the Gospel (iii 1-6).

Of that Gospel I was made minister on the basis of the free gift of God's grace that was given me ac-

cording to the energizing of his power. Ah! to me, the least of all the saints, was given this grace—to announce to the pagans the unsearchable riches of Christ, to pour light on the dispensation of the mystery that lay hidden away from the eyes of ages past, in the heart of God who created all things, that *now* should be made known to principalities and powers, in a heaven-world, by means of the Church, the multitudinous wisdom of God—according to the eternal purpose that he achieved in the person of Jesus Christ our Lord, in (whom at last) we can speak free and plain and have confident access to God because of our faith in him (7-12).

So I beg you not to lose heart over my troubles on your account; they are your pride! And therefore I bend my knees to the Father, from whom all family-hood[1] in heaven or earth wins its name, that he may grant to you according to the measure of the richness of his glory to be powerfully strengthened by his Spirit in your inner self, so as to make Christ dwell by means of faith in your hearts; that in love you be rooted and founded, and that you may be strong to comprehend along with all the saints what is the width and the length and the depth and the height—yes, to know the love of Christ that overshoots all knowledge—and be fulfilled according to all the plenitude of God.

Now to him who can accomplish far and more than far beyond what we ask or think, according to his power that is at work within us—to him the glory in the Church and in Christ Jesus to all generations—world without end! Amen (13-21).

Paul bids them walk worthy of so sublime a vocation and never to injure so deep a unity.

[1] Not "fatherhood." English has no assonant word.

Be eager to preserve the unity of spirit within bonds of peace. One body and one spirit, even as your vocation offers you one hope. One Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God, the Father of all, that is over all, and works through all, and is in all (iv 1-6).

Christ, who descended to this lower earth, and ascended once more to heaven, did so that he might "full-fill" all that is. And with a most manifold ministry has he equipped his children, "for the sake of the building up of the body of Christ, until we shall all come together into the unity of the faith and the full knowledge of the Son of God, grown into a perfect man, according to the measure of the maturity of the plenitude of Christ. That we be no more children, tossed about, whirled around with every wind of doctrine, by human charlatanry, by unscrupulous and misleading methods. Let us hold the truth in love, and grow wholly into him, who is the Head, Christ. From him the whole body, interwoven, interknit by means of every articulation of its organism—each part working in due harmony with every other part—will find that *he* makes its increase till it is (fully) built up in love (7-16).

He again "protests" in the Lord's name that they must then no more walk as pagans do "in the wantonness of their minds, with their intelligence darkened, alienated from the life of God, owing to the ignorance that is in them, owing to the numbing of their hearts. They have put themselves past all feeling, and so have given themselves over to licentiousness and to the greedy working of all

uncleanness." Let them divest themselves of "the old self of your life of yore," the self that falls into corruption, true to its deceitful lusts. "You must be renewed in the spirit of your mind, and put on the new self, who is created according to God in righteousness and holiness of truth" (17-24).

Pathetically he once more urges on them every virtue, especially those that make for peace and unity, and would have them in no way to consort with those whose works belong to the dark—they, who once *were* darkness, but now are light in the Lord, and on a sudden he breaks, once more, into the rhythm, surely, of some Christian hymn echoing ancient prophecy:

> Awake, O thou that sleepest,
> Up from the dead arising,
> And Christ shall shine upon thee (iv 25-v 14).

Yet even so, he cannot quite complete his letter without one more flash of vision. He had just bidden them speak truth to one another, since they were "limbs one of another" (and lying destroys all unity), and now he re-enjoins that unity within families that he bases, as ever, upon the wedlock between Jesus and his Church.

Women, be subordinate to your husbands as to the Lord—for a man is head of the woman as Christ too is head of the Church. Yes, in the sense that the Church is subordinate to Christ, so too women to their husbands, in everything.

Men, love your wives, even as Christ loved the Church, and gave himself over for her sake, that he might sanctify her, having purified her in the laving water and the Word, so that he might present her to

himself, a glorious Church, having no spot nor wrinkle nor anything of that sort, but that she might be holy and flawless. Even so should men love their wives, even as their own bodies. For he who loveth his wife loveth his own self. . . . We are members of (Christ's) body . . . *that* is why a man must "leave his father and mother and cleave closely to his wife and the twain shall come to be one flesh." The mystery here is a great one—I am alluding to Christ and his Church (15-33).

The rest of the letter tells of the duties of children, slaves, and masters, and ends with an exhortation to put on the whole armour of God that so we may stand firm in the fight against all evil—words that have inspired all ages ever since. He wishes Tychicus to tell his readers all about him, but adds no personal salutations to his letter, and, indeed, this complete lack of anything "personal" throughout it, makes it seem more than ever certain that it was intended for a general encyclical, to be read in all the Asiatic churches, and became named "to the Ephesians" perhaps because it was in Ephesus, the metropolis of the province, that it found its definite home.[1]

Such, then, are the letters which survive to us from Paul's captivity-years, in which we discover, as St Jerome says, Paul's very innermost, the centre of his heart. So far as may be necessary we shall return, later on, to their doctrine.

[1] The phrase at the beginning—"To the Saints that are in Ephesus"—lacks, in a few MSS., the last word. Perhaps Paul just left a blank space, and the reader inserted the name of the city where he found himself.

XIV

GETHSEMANI

Paul, then, remained in his lodgings at Rome, chained to his soldier-gaoler, for two whole years, and then—what happened? He was let go free. Was he acquitted? More probably the case was just let drop. It had dragged on, now, for five years nearly; witnesses were not forthcoming; no one was any more clear what it was all about, least of all Festus, whose report, so far as it went, must have been favourable to Paul. So the release, which he foresaw, as the letter to the Philippians proves (i 23; ii 23), occurred, and Paul left Rome, so far as his intentions went, for good.

Did he go, as he had planned, to Spain? Very soon after his death you find writers who affirm that he did. Clement of Rome, not more than thirty years later, says at least that Paul went to the "boundary of the West," and for an Italian this would have no meaning save that Paul reached the "Pillars of Hercules" at the Straits, and saw at last the Atlantic. After this the tradition grows explicit.

He then returned, but the evidence for what happened to him is like the twinkle of lights lost far out to sea. Three little letters were written and survive; another too survives—that to the "Hebrews," of which we still have to speak; but not only it solves no problem, but it creates its own new puzzles.

Hence, let us say frankly that we can only put tentatively together a poor half-dozen hints, taken from the first letter to Timothy, from that to Titus, and from the second to Timothy—they were written in that order—and seek to know nothing more accurately of the last years of St Paul.

It is difficult to suppose that Paul, on his return, failed to visit the first churches he had founded and that he cannot have ceased to love. Certainly he had promised Philemon he would be his guest (Ph. 21). After a while we find he had certainly been to Ephesus, and had gone thence to Macedonia, telling Timothy to stay behind and keep order. Paul expects to be soon, but in case he is detained he will give Timothy instructions as to how to behave, and this is the theme and object of the first letter (see 1 Tim. iii 14 and i 3). So similar not only in substance but in expression are the recommendations given to Titus in the little letter addressed to him in Crete, that we may think that it was probably written about the same time, and that Paul, descending south from Macedonia, visited Corinth, and then, instead of crossing the isthmus and passing thus to the east coast of the Adriatic, whither he was bound, decided to reach that coast by sailing right round Greece, taking Crete on the way, since the unorganized Christians of that island needed proper discipline. Paul could not do all that was required, but he left Titus behind (i 5) in order everywhere to ordain priests in each city. Titus was then to rejoin Paul in Nicopolis, a city built by Augustus to com-

memorate his victory at Actium, whence its name—the Town of Victory. It stood not far north of the gulf of Corinth, opposite the "heel" of Italy. Paul proposed to winter there (Titus iii 12), and Titus was to come directly Tychicus or Artemas (a new name in the letters) should arrive to replace him. Titus was also to assist two missioners, Apollos and Zenas, who would soon be passing through Crete. Thus we certainly see, by these and a host of other indications, that Paul's organizing energy was no less than ever it had been. It was some time after this that Paul was rearrested. We cannot tell where it happened; but for reasons to which we shall just allude below, it seems not unlikely that he was denounced by Alexander, an Ephesian coppersmith, perhaps while he was in the Troad. Thence he was taken back to Rome, and from his prison there wrote his second letter to St Timothy.

Timothy and Titus both confront the same difficulties, and have, on the whole, the same positive duty. Throughout these letters you find Paul distressed by men whose defects are annoying rather than actually wicked or heretical, though he foresees that the evil will develop. At Ephesus, Jews, or men of Jewish tendencies, were devoting time to "fables and endless genealogies," provoking arguments rather than helping forward the Christian life; men who had a positively "morbid" affection for speculation and logic-chopping (1 Tim. i 3-7; iv 1-4; vi 3-5), and were leading up to the time when they would be found proclaiming some false Oriental

dualism, condemning matter and material things as bad, forbidding to marry, and imposing a mere vegetarian diet. In the second letter Paul is just as strong; he always seems to regard this tendency as a mental sickness; such men have "itching ears"; their influence spreads like a gangrene; neurotic women are their easy prey (2 Tim. iii 6). I do not think that there is anything here that can be dignified by the name of heresy, as I said: we may detect, rather, the debris of the old Judaizing groups, and also perhaps some of the raw material for the future Gnostic ones. Were the "genealogies" really human ones, tracing this or that family back to some Hebrew patriarch? or were they not rather lists, precisely, of those angels, spirits, and other superhuman beings that speculation tended, as we have seen, to interpose between God and the human race? St Paul suggests that there is a certain *shoddiness* about the material used. It must, we think, have been the sort of stuff that was to be worked into the apocryphal gospels, Acts, and epistles in the subsequent generation.

More interesting, perhaps, is the ideal St Paul entertains for the Christian priest and bishop.[1] One

[1] It does not enter into our scheme to discuss the exact meaning of words like *episkopos*, *presbuteros*, as used here by St Paul, nor the stage of development of the monarchical episcopate at this time. The Westminster Version, vol. iii, p. 237, can be consulted upon this. What is clear is, that both Timothy and Titus had the ordaining power—were, that is, bishops—but were not the stationary bishops with exactly defined dioceses such as we now know, but rather St Paul's delegates, who moved about as he bade them, and to whom he gave wide powers. Who Titus was remains a great problem. St Paul evidently placed

may be struck by the very sober picture he paints. He finds it worth while saying that the rulers of the Church must *not* be arrogant, hot-tempered, violent, greedy, drinkers; and the virtues he asks for them are prudence, justice, self-control, orthodoxy, ability to manage their own household, hospitality. Also, they must be such as to win the good opinion of non-Christians. One detail deserves a special word. St Paul wills that the bishop be "a man of one wife" (see 1 Tim. iii 3; Titus i 6-9). This means that he must not have been married more than once. The proof is, that the widows who win St Paul's approval are described (1 Tim. v 9) as "women of one husband," which *can* only mean "who have been married once only," since, after all, a widow has no husband at all. . . . In spite of this, Protestant commentators, in their anxiety lest St Paul should be found to have imposed any special ascetic obligation on the clergy, especially in the direction of celibacy, have argued that he was but insisting that Christian ministers be not bigamists. . . .

Besides the higher clergy, there are deacons who, because of their more material rôle, which they clearly to some extent still retained, must be exempt from all trace of cupidity, double-dealing, and intemperance. And St Paul adds, introducing thereby, it seems to us, a new atmosphere, so to speak, into his paragraph—"carrying *the mystery of faith* with a

great trust in him, and had him for companion from early days. Yet the Acts never mention him. Fr. H. Pope, O.P., interestingly argues (*Aids*, iii 241) that he may quite likely have been St Luke's brother.

pure conscience" (1 Tim. iii 8). Proof is impossible; but is it rash to think that the deacons may already have had, for one of their duties, that of carrying Holy Communion—*mysterium fidei*—to the sick or otherwise administering it?

Alongside of these, but invested with no ecclesiastical functions, are "deaconesses" and widows. The case of the latter is straightforward. Paul does not wish a widow to remarry, unless she be young; and he welcomes such private persons as will take a destitute widow into their house and succour her. After the age of sixty, a widow may be put on the list of those for whom the local church makes itself responsible. The estate of widowhood was an honourable one: all the more did frivolity degrade it. As for the "deaconesses," it were too strong to say that they constituted an "order," though Phoebe, for example (Rom. xii 7; *cf.* 1 Cor. xii 5), had received a real "grace" of service.

On the whole, the impression of a Church already established with no little solidity is derived from these short letters, and there is less of ecstasy about them, or of the fervour of beginnings. . . . They contain, however, many little touches of spiritual beauty and of fresh human nature, especially those to Timothy. Paul was certainly very fond of Timothy, who for so many years had been so loyal. For Paul's sake Timothy had left the secluded Asiatic uplands and had faced every danger, and one would say that the lad's temperament and, perhaps, upbringing had not equipped him for any such rough

life. Paul recalls affectionately the names of Timothy's grandmother, Lois, and his mother, Eunice, who in his childhood had taught to him the Scriptures; Paul prays for him every day and night, and aches to have him at his side. I think he feels very acutely even now the relative youth of Timothy —"child Timothy," as he likes to call him; and perhaps it is because he sees in him a certain timidity at least of sentiment that he insists so much upon the metaphors of soldier and of athlete. "Give up drinking water only, but use a little wine for your stomach's sake and because you are so often ill." There are, too, many sentences of fine and solid doctrine, but nothing new that need detain us. The letters can be read through and understood without any special difficulty.

But the second letter to Timothy lets us guess with tragic ease what Paul had gone through since his arrest. "They all forsook him and fled," was written of those earliest Apostles of the Master, and "it suffices for the servant that he be where his master is." "All in Asia," writes Paul in anguish, "turned away from me" (2 Tim. i 14), and "During my first defence, not a soul stood by me, but all abandoned me. May it not be laid to their charge" (*ibid.* iv 16). The condemnation of Alexander the coppersmith is beyond mere severity (iv 14). *He* may have been Paul's Judas. . . . However, friends, coming who knows whence, had begun to gather round him once again, in particular a certain Onesiphorus, who, true to his name—"Help-bringer"—

had not "been ashamed of" Paul's chain, and often gave him consolation. Still, as he journeyed once more Italy-wards, the little band of companions dwindled. Trophimus fell sick, and had to be left at Miletus. Erastus, the ex-banker from Corinth, remained in his native city when they touched there. Deliberately Paul sent back Tychicus to revive the courage of the Ephesians. By the time Rome was reached, "only Luke," Paul sadly writes, "is with me." Demas had deserted him, "for he loved this world." And Crescens had gone to Gaul; Titus to Dalmatia. "Be quick," Paul cries across the sea to Timothy; "come to me quickly. Pick up Mark, and bring him with you, for he is so helpful, so serviceable to me. . . . Bring me the cloak I left with Carpus in the Troad, and the books, especially the parchments. . . . Oh, make haste, and come before winter. . . ."

Not that all, save Luke, had completely failed in faithfulness. Onesiphorus had actually followed Paul to Rome and had "earnestly sought me till he found me." How was that? Because Paul was no more in that easy custody of yore. Since his departure from Rome the city had been burnt. On July 19, A.D. 64, the appalling conflagration had broken out which at the end of a week left the ruins still smouldering. Nero, in a panic of the popular opinion that put the thing down to his mad lust for spectacle, had shifted the blame on to the Christians, and the first great persecution had raged. The Emperor had driven his chariot down garden paths

lit up, this side and that, with martyrs steeped in tar and bound to posts and set, in savage cruelty, aflame. . . . In one of the dungeons, then, of the common prison, in filthy promiscuity, Paul had been put to languish, and it was there that Onesiphorus discovered him, and to him in its darkness Roman Christians penetrated — Pudens, Linus, even a woman, Claudia. These and other names shine like stars in the salutation of St Paul's last letter.

Paul had no illusions. "As for me," he writes, "I am now poured out, a libation; and the moment for me to be dissolved has come upon me. The fine fight have I fought to its finish; my course have I run to its end. I have kept the faith. For the rest, there is stored up for me the wreath of righteousness, that the Lord shall duly give to me at that great day" (2 Tim. iv 6-8). And it is here, while Paul prepares for the final offering of his own life, that we shall recall the doctrine of that sacrificial letter *to the Hebrews.*

XV

"WE HAVE AN ALTAR"

The letter to the Hebrews has always presented problems, of which the least is: If it is by St Paul, why has he not here, as in all his other letters, prefixed his name to it? And again, how has he brought himself to omit phrases and turns of phrasing that had become, one would have thought, part and parcel of himself, like the little *in Christ,* for example,

which occurs 164 times in his other writings, but not once in Hebrews? And how has he come to write in a Greek flowing and cultured as not even Luke's diction was, let alone his own undoubted work?

We may affirm that if this anonymous epistle is not by St Paul, it is idle guesswork to seek a name for its author. Tradition is curiously divided. The East unanimously regarded it as by Paul, though it was forced to recognize the difference in style. The West leant heavily to the belief that it was not by Paul, and for long would not include it in the Canon. Indeed, canonicity triumphed before authenticity did: it never occurs to Augustine or to Jerome that because councils have decided that the letter is to be included in the Canon, therefore the question of authorship is settled. In these pages we need say no more than this: the ideas and doctrine of Hebrews are as completely Pauline as its language is unlike Paul's; and it is a grave mistake to hunt for alien sources of the former such as Alexandria. Let us say that a critically preferable and fully authorized opinion is, that Paul conceived and conveyed the matter of the epistle, so as to be "substantially" its author, leaving its form to another's hand. If St Mark's Gospel can be called, as in a true sense it can, St. Peter's Gospel, even more truly (I should consider) can this letter be called St Paul's.[1]

Without arguing the points, we may hold that the

[1] See Pope, *Aids*, iii, pp. 256-269. This sets forth all the evidence, and concludes by quoting the decrees of the Biblical Commission on the subject.

letter could scarcely have been written after the fall of Jerusalem; therefore it is earlier than A.D. 70. It seems written to those who never had run risk of the least infection of paganism, and well suits, therefore, the Palestinian Jews, to whom tradition holds that it in fact was sent. But, to *Christian* Jews. And if, it has been argued, it was sent about 67, when ancient Judaism was desperately rallying itself against the seemingly destined and imminent triumph of Rome, and was tempting patriots, as never before, to relinquish all save their ancestral heritage of Old Testament faith and worship—at an hour, therefore, when the small Palestinian Church was seeing with anguish that it was doubly outcast—in Rome's eyes as rebellious as the rest of the country and its folk; in the true Jew's eyes, a disgraced apostate—how fitted to such a crisis is a letter that teaches: "As Christians you have all that your ancestors had, and infinitely more. Count, then, the world well lost, and come forth with Christ, and die 'outside the camp.'" And the Palestine Christians did indeed leave Jerusalem, and take refuge in Pella, a mean and despicable group in the sight of those who would not admit them as fellow-patriots unless they abandoned the faith in the crucified Jesus. Hence the letter throughout establishes a contrast between Christ, mediator, priest and sacrifice of the new dispensation, infinitely transcendent, infinitely better than the mediators, priesthood and sacrifices even of the divine religion that had been the prerogative of the Jews.

Those whose watchword is: "I will have no one between my God and my soul," should be disconcerted by what St Paul in this letter takes as absolutely granted—that religion has always been given to man *through* a mediator. And the first part of his letter concentrates on this—that *as* mediator between God and man, Christ transcends completely any that the Hebrew past contains.

In many fragments and in many ways God spake of old to our ancestors in the Prophets. Now, in this end of days, he hath spoken to us in a Son. Him hath he set to be the heir of all things, even as through him he made the universe. This Son is the effulgence of God's glory; the very reproduction of his substance.[1]

He, who carries all things by the word of his power, having accomplished the cleansing away of sin, took his seat at the right hand of the Majesty in the highest.

Christ, therefore, co-eternal with the Father in his origin, co-active in the creation of the world even as he is its co-preserver and its final end, true God by nature and in substance even as the Father, yet has been made both priest and sacrifice for the world's redemption, and as such, even—that is, as man—has been utterly exalted and glorified over all that is.

What angel, then, what ministering spirit, can compare with this Son of God, who himself *is* God? (i).

The Jews believed that the Law was promulgated

[1] The imprint, the seal, in the sense that the image on the wax corresponds exactly to that which makes it.

through the ministry of angels: the revelation came from God to Moses; but the voices that he heard were but angelic; and terrible penalties awaited those who transgressed this Law. How far more grievous to disregard the revelation given now by God himself, and by God himself attested! (ii 1-4).

All things are put by God under the feet of Christ. What though, for a space, he was "made *lower* than the angels"? Thereby, through his human suffering and death, he received his very crown. For—

"It was fitting to make perfect, by means, precisely, of suffering, him for whom all things are even as through him all things are, who is the Captain of Salvation, who leads the army of (God's) sons to glory! The Sanctifier and the sanctified have one Father! That is why Christ scorns not to call us 'brothers.'" *Therefore* he became a man, as we are men; therefore he became no angel merely; therefore he *owed* to be in all ways assimilated to his brothers, that he might (truly) be a loyal and merciful high priest of God to them, unto the expiation of the people's sins. For, in what he was tested, in what he suffered, in *that* can he succour those who themselves are tested (ii).

That is, if anyone should cry out—"But Jesus, truly man—nay, dying—must be *lower* than the angels are, and so your first argument for the transcendence of the Law he promulgated fails." No, answers Paul, not only was Christ's humiliation but transitory, but it was a *fit* expression of his tender mercy; it made him *quite* like us, who, since he was

to make us truly to be God's sons, were no less truly *his* brothers. He would not then claim exemptions or privileges over us.

But Christ is greater, too, than Moses, the delegated law-giver of that earlier Law. Moses was faithful, but as the servant of the house; Christ as the very Son of him whose the whole house is (iii 1-6). Hence, harden not your hearts by unbelief, as some of those ancient Hebrews did by disobedience. All were led forth from Egypt; but right many left their bones in the wilderness, and never reached the promised land. So, persevere! (ii 7-19).

Yes, as for them, so for us; God hath stored up repose after our journey, after our toil. So let us make haste to enter into that rest, nor hope to hide any infidelity of ours from God's eyes.

Alive is the Word of God, and active and sharper than any two-edged sword, and penetrating even to the sundering of the joints and the marrow, the soul and the spirit, and divides the very desires and thoughts of the heart. There is no created thing that is invisible before him, but all lies naked and bared before his eyes of whom we are telling . . . (iv 1-13).

Is that a terrifying thought? Well, but remember that the Promulgator of our New Law is also its High Priest, appointed so to be by God himself, and therefore in mercy, even as himself our human Christ is merciful. . . .

We possess, then, for our great High Priest, who has passed up through the heavens (into God's

presence), Jesus Christ, God's (own) Son. Let us keep fast hold upon that faith! We have *not* some high priest who cannot sympathize with our weaknesses, since he has been tested at all points just as we are, save that he sinned not. So let us advance freely to the throne of the free grace, that we may find grace and accept mercy unto our aid in the hour of need (14-16).

Now this very Christ, who is our High Priest, and so human that—

In the days of his flesh (his human life) he offered prayers and supplications together with strong outcry and with tears, to him that was able to save him from death. . . . Son though he was, he learned submission from the sufferings he experienced, and was thus "completed," and became to all who submit (in their turn) to him, the cause of eternal salvation (v 1-9),

and was *called* to this office by our most merciful God, and is hailed by God as "High Priest" for ever, "according to the Order of Melchizedek" (4, 10).

There is much, Paul says, that he would like to say to his hearers on this subject, but they would find it difficult to understand. They ought to be teaching others, and yet have to be taught all over again the very elements of Christian doctrine. What children they are! Yet he will not return to giving them the simple food of childhood, to teach them once more the fundamental dogmas of repentance, of baptism, confirmation, ultimate resurrection, and judgement. It is, he feels, an impossible task,

when once a man has been "enlightened" and has received the Holy Spirit, and has tasted and seen that the Lord's word is sweet, and what supernature is, and *then* has fallen away, has recrucified the Lord in himself and put him to an open shame, to renew such a one and bring him to reconversion (v 11-vi 8). Impossible? Ah, well! God, after all, *has* promised that he would bless the progeny of Abraham—that is, the Jews—and added thereto his oath. So we must not despair (9-20).

Paul now uses one of those arguments that are so strange to us. They are, of course, based upon the view and use of the Old Testament that were those of his readers. He had already quoted Ps. cix 4, in which the words "Thou art a priest for ever according to the 'order' of Melchizedek" are applied to the Messiah. He repeats the history of that ancient king of whom we read (Gen. xiv 18 *seq.*) that he accepted tithes from Abraham and blessed him. He was, therefore, superior to Abraham himself, let alone to that family of Levi to which the priestly prerogative afterwards belonged. Levi, in fact, himself, in the person of Abraham, paid tithes to and was blessed by Melchizedek. One, therefore, who was priest according to the "rank" of the latter, is far sūperior in dignity to any member of the Levitic priesthood. Moreover, Christ's priesthood is ensured to him for eternity, and that by God's own oath; whereas the Levitic priesthood, constantly destroyed in its individual members by death, had to be as constantly replenished by new lives, and in any

case was established only on a basis of legal enactment. So—

Christ, owing to his remaining for ever, hath a priesthood that cannot pass from him, so that he can save for ever and ever those who approach to God through him, he who ever liveth to make intercession for them (vii 1-25).

"Ah," cries Paul, "such indeed was the High Priest that befitted us—holy, flawless, undefiled, separate wholly from sinners, and made higher than the heavens, who hath no need, as those high priests (of old) had need, first to offer sacrifices for his own sins, then for those of the people. For he offered (his sacrifice) by offering, once and for all, himself" (26-28).

Wherefore, together with the transference of the priesthood, the entire system within which sacrifice is offered is transferred too; we are made members of a new and better and a heavenly covenant, in place of that which had grown old and decrepit and was near to vanishing away (viii).

Paul has shown that our Lord transcends the mediator Moses, who gave the Old Law from God to the people; and, again, that his priesthood is altogether on a different plane from that of the Levitic one; now he will argue that the sacrifice offered by Jesus is the crown of all sacrifice, and different altogether from those whereof Aaron was the first high priest. He makes a long comparison of our Lord's sacrificial act and its circumstances with those that were offered in the ancient Hebrew tabernacle.

This ancient tabernacle, he recalls, had two parts

—one, "the holy place," into which the priests went daily and daily offered sacrifice; the other, "the holy of holies," into which the high priest penetrated once a year, behind the veil, to offer for his own sins and the people's. Thus, the Holy Spirit teaches, access to God was shown to be not yet free (ix 1-10). But that ancient tabernacle was but a "type" of the eternal one, into which Christ has passed once and for all, to offer not the blood of mere goats and bulls, that never could cleanse the conscience, but his own, and thereby has made manifest the completeness and permanence of his redemption. Year by year the ancient alliance had to be renewed, and yearly had expiation to be made for man's offence against it: Christ's sacrifice could be offered but once, and is adequate, eternal, and cleanses perfectly those who participate therein (x 1-18).

Henceforward Paul breaks into an exhortation that is half a triumph song.

Since then, brothers, we possess a free approach unto the entering of the holy places in the blood of Jesus—a new and living approach that he has inaugurated for us, through the veil—that is, his flesh—and possess, too, a great High Priest over the house of God, let us draw nearer with sincere heart in the fullness of faith, having our hearts sprinkled (and cleansed) from evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water, and let us hold firm the profession of our hope unflinchingly, for faithful is he who promised. . . . For if we deliberately sin after accepting the full knowledge of the truth, there is no *new* sacrifice left over for sin (that is, if we reject

Christ and his redemption, there is nothing else that we can look for to save us. The old dispensation is finished with; and if we refuse the new, what is left?), but only a frightful expectation of judgement and of a fire that ravens to eat up (God's) enemies. The man who set at naught the Law of Moses, without pity had to die, if two or three should witness against him. Of how much worse a punishment shall he be held worthy who has trodden under foot the Son of God and held the blood of the Covenant, whereby he was sanctified, a vile thing, and has waxed insolent against the Spirit of Grace! . . . Terrible is it to fall into the hands of the living God. . . .

Oh, remember your past, and your enlightening and your patience in persecution, and endure perseveringly through the future—it will not be very long (19-39).

What else, Paul asks, is faith, save the taking your stand on, not what you have, but what you hope for? save the testing (and finding real) just what you can *not* see? By such a faith as this the heroes of our race lived their life out—Abel, Enoch, Noe, Abraham himself, who—

" went forth from his home not knowing whither he fared . . . but he looked for the city that hath the (true) foundations, whose builder and artificer is God." On a basis of faith (not only lived, but) died all these men, not having received the promises, but espying them afar off and saluting them, and confessing that they were but strangers and sojourners on the earth. Men who speak as they spoke make it clear that they are seeking for a fatherland, and if

they had been yearning for that from which they had come forth, plenty of opportunity had they to turn again home. But no! they are reaching out for a better one—a heavenly one . . . and that is why God is not ashamed to be called *their* God; for their destined city was *his* handiwork. By faith, too, Abraham was ready to sacrifice his one hope—Isaac; by faith did Moses prefer to "suffer wrong along with God's people, rather than to accept the pleasures of sin so ready to his hand, esteeming the disgrace of Christ a greater wealth than the treasures of the Egyptians, unfearing the tyrant's wrath, and stubbornly gazing on the Unseen as if he saw it. . . . Need I go on? Never should I have time to tell of "this one and that"—David, Samuel, and the Prophets, who by means of faith conquered kings, practised righteousness, laid hold upon the promises; they stopped the mouths of lions, they quenched the might of fire, escaped the edge of the sword. They waxed strong from sickness, they were mighty in war, they routed the onslaught of the foe. . . . Others were beaten to death—they asked no ransom—that they might win a better resurrection; others stood the test of blows and of scourges, yea, chains and prisons. They were stoned, they were tortured, they were sawn asunder, they died by stroke of sword, they wandered forth in skins of sheep or goat, despised, persecuted, reviled—of whom the world was not worthy! . . . Yea, all these having borne witness through their faith reaped no fruit of the promises, since God was foreseeing something even better that concerned ourselves, that not apart from us might those others accomplish their perfection.

Therefore we—we—having wrapped around us so vast a cloud of witnesses, laying aside every encum-

brance and the envelopment of sin, let us perseveringly run the race that is set before us, looking ahead to the guide and consummator of our faith, even Jesus, who, for the joy set before him, endured the Cross, despising the shame, and hath taken his seat upon the right hand of the throne of God (xi 32-xii 5).

Paul exhorts the Jewish Christians that they, unlike their ancestors, have not yet resisted "unto blood"; such sufferings as have been theirs have been no more than the chastisements of a Father who loves them; let them not, like Esau, sell their birthright, only to repent too late with sterile tears; let them not, like the Israelites who round Sinai turned deaf ears to Moses, show themselves unheeding. The place that is theirs is holier by far—*their* mountain is Mount Sion; their city, Jerusalem the heavenly, ringed with the myriads of the angels, the assembly of the elect, the spirits of righteous men made perfect (6-29).

Practise with perseverance and without fear every virtue. "Himself hath said: I will never, never, leave thee nor forsake thee—even he, Jesus Christ, who never changes, but is 'the same, yesterday, today, and for ever.'"

"We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat who serve the tabernacle;" and even as the sacrifices of that old worship were burned outside the enclosure of the people, so Jesus, offering his perfect sacrifice for sin, "suffered outside the camp." Therefore "let us go forth to him, outside the city

wall, carrying his disgrace! For here we have no city that abides, but we seek for the city that shall be."

And with brief salutations the epistle closes.

Such, then, are the letters of St Paul. Before we relate the last short chapter of his life, let us review, in its main lines and in all the coherence of its parts, the doctrine he had taught.

XVI

THE MYSTERY, ONCE HIDDEN, NOW REVEALED

The centre of St Paul's life was not man. Perfectly human himself, tender as a woman, sensitive, dependent even on companionship, never forgetting those whom he once had loved, aching to re-see those from whom he was separated, feeling himself the very father of his Christians—nay, their very nurse that sheltered them in his arms, he yet never once displays the symptoms of that chill virtue, philanthropy. Never once, for him, are poverty or sickness, or persecution or death, the ultimate evils, nor is the "improvement" of the race his personal concern. Let us face that frankly.

Nor, dare we say it, is the centre of his life, God; God, that is, as philosophy or the subtle energizing of the intellect can tell of him. Three times, perhaps, he can be held to speak of "natural" religion. He gently, with fresh simplicity, reminds the Asiatic

pagans of the goodness of the Creator and Preserver of all nature. In more abstract terms he reminds the Athenians of the truths of God's existence, of the infinite, ubiquitous Spirit in whom we live and move. And sternly he dwells, when writing to the Romans, on the certainty with which the human mind can know that God exists and deserves an unshared homage, but passes swiftly to the most terrible indictment of such men as have had the knowledge and have not acted true to it, and have thereby corrupted not alone their wills, but that very knowledge itself. "They that do the Will," had said our Lord, "shall know of the doctrine"; and experience showed to Paul that the deliberate defiance of even a minimum of known truth brought about a guilty inability to know that truth, or, what was worse, a dulling of the intellect such that even what was known ceased to *mean* anything to the knower, ceased to move him, till, hardened in all his sympathies, he sank in feeling, as in act, below the level of what all could recognize to be his very nature.

But the centre of Paul's life, as of his teaching, is God, willing to save the world, supernaturally, through the person and the work of Jesus Christ his Son. *Christ* is the centre-point of St Paul's universe; he held himself not to be truly *alive*, were he not "*in Christ.*"

Hence Paul, though he was the last man in the world to make a strictly "scientific" system of thought about anything at all, will be found to have

certain quite definite convictions about the world and human nature within it, based upon experience interpreted by that revelation which he had received and in the light of which he contemplated life. On the one hand, Paul must not be rebuked if he does not even try simply by human evidence to prove what he says—that is exactly what in the very nature of the case he could not do: he held that his revelation unveiled things that were, precisely, "what the eye hath *not* seen, what the ear hath *not* heard, what it hath not so much as entered into the human heart to conceive": nor yet, on the other, if he tries to explain what he means in human language, for, after all, his revelation was for the world at large, and in telling it he had to use words that bore a meaning. Yet existing words had not been fashioned with any intention of expressing what never had been thought hitherto; therefore he labours under great difficulties, and it is best thus to have seen, in the mass, what his mind is, in order to interpret what his words mean in this case or in that. For, sometimes, more than one existing word will serve approximately to express his meaning; and, again, he may have to insert somewhat different meanings into one existing word.

St Paul, then, sees that man has certain possibilities in life to which God calls him, and that they cannot all be realized without God's free and special gift. Were I to say that St Paul holds that man can be "material-minded," "rational," and "spiritual," and that, to be the last, he needs an asset that his

nature as such does not and never did contain, I should have stated practically St Paul's distinction between the "fleshly," "psychic," and "spiritual" man. But all these terms require explanation.

Paul uses at times the simple contrast of the "inner" with the "outer" man. This distinction is easily accepted by us all, in a vague and general way. My exterior self is not only what people see in me or what I exhibit, but my whole way of acting outwardly, which can quite well be opposed to my true mind, my inner feeling—indeed, helplessly so. I often cannot act according to what I feel to be my "true" self. My inner self includes my thoughts, my conscience, and the whole way of thinking and judging that I have built up within me. It has been interestingly pointed out that it is Paul definitely who introduced the *words* for "mind" and "conscience" into Christian diction. The ideas were there, but not the words. In Romans vii 22, 25, he makes the "inner man" identical just with "mind," with my intellectual appreciation of a fact. He appreciates with his mind the value of the Law, but none the less he cannot act according to it. Similarly, his conscience, which can, and should be, in a man a true light upon right and wrong, and a judge, can be weak, or defiled, or even cauterized (1 Cor. viii 7-10, 12, etc.). This is of the highest importance as showing that there is nothing of subjective impressionism in St Paul. The conscience may be wrong and need educating or even healing. All this "inner man" can also be described by Paul

as one's "heart," and this is true to the Old Testament manner of speech. Love, peace, faith, light, joy, hardness—all the moral and affective life can be said to reside there. There the natural law is written; there, too, the Holy Spirit will be found to dwell.

Paul also uses the seemingly still simpler contrast, "body" and "soul." "Seemingly" simpler, because here precisely are words that he applies in different ways, and further complicates by introducing the word "spirit." On the whole, by "flesh" he means that living matter whereof our bodies consist; by "body" he means the same, only the idea of "organism" usually enters, and the idea of life need not be present. And as for soul, the word tends to mean the principle, precisely, by which the body lives; and "spirit," that principle in itself, the immaterial thinking element in man. But Paul seldom, if ever, makes in his own mind these sharp distinctions, not even when he asks God to bless our "spirit, soul, and body" (1 Thess. v 23). He just means, "your whole self, your whole life," and can quite well do as we do, and speak of "all flesh" and "every soul," meaning just "everyone," so inevitably and rightly do we and does he think of each man as a unit, however complex—as one person.

Yet it is true that in this unit there *is* a complexity. So that the "flesh" easily comes to mean, not only the material, corruptible element in ourselves, but this element precisely as it *hinders* the free action of the thinking part which it ought to

help—the "life of the senses" as opposed to the "life of the soul." The result is, that the mind can be invaded and, so to speak, swamped by the flesh, and a man becomes "carnal-minded." Indeed, Paul finds from experience that this always tends to happen, and perhaps must do so without a special, additional help.[1] So that we shall find that Paul is quite capable of describing *man as such*, the "natural man," and man "in the concrete," and even his mind as "*fleshly*," or *flesh*. For there has entered into him, and is working within him, an entirely new *fact*, a *life*, a new nature; and to this also, Paul, lacking another word, gives the name *spirit*. This new nature is emphatically *not* merely the human mind thinking true or lofty or loving thoughts. When, for example, the ecstatic Christian finds himself praying in an unknown "tongue"—well, he frankly does not understand what he is saying; none the less, supernaturally, supermentally, he is united to God, and is praying "with his spirit" (1 Cor. xiv 14). Nor yet is this "spirit" identical with the Holy Spirit, the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity, for Paul speaks of the Holy Spirit as bearing witness *to* our spirit (Rom. viii 16). Nor, again, is it a special human faculty. It is just the *man* supernaturalized and acting supernaturally. From this point of view, then, Paul is quite able to designate the whole man, so long as he has not grace within him, so long as he is just "natural," as

[1] Compare the Catholic dogma that a man cannot obey constantly even the natural law without grace.

"flesh," as "the old self," that must die in order to rise into the new graced self; and from the point of view of supernatural good, there is "*no* good" in it (Rom. vii 18). Paul would have sprung back in horror at the thought that God had created anything that was *bad in itself*—that ungraced nature as such was intrinsically evil; but just as within the natural man you can compare the material part to the immaterial part, and call the one flesh and the other soul or spirit, so you can take the whole natural man, body and mind together, and call the whole of him "flesh" *compared* to the supernaturalized man, who shall then be termed "spirit" or, at least, spiritual. If Paul wants to emphasize precisely the workings of the ungraced intelligence, he will speak of the "psychic" man, or, as we now would more likely say, the merely "rational" man.

In a word, God has created man a body-soul; nature as such is good (though in men sin can spoil it; but of sin we have not yet spoken); yet compared to what man *can* be, and to what, as we shall see, God means him to be, the whole of that living, material, yet reasoning man can be termed flesh, or dead. Man is *not* to be improved merely on his co-natural level: he has *not* got a tripartite nature, of which the "highest" part is to be called "spirit." The spirit that God gives him is not identical with the Holy Spirit, but the inhabitation of the Holy Spirit is a new gift, and the cause of man's being raised to the supernatural plane. Fasten well on to this doctrine, else nothing that St Paul says will be

intelligible in the way in which he meant it. And do not regard his words—flesh, heart, mind, outer and inner man, soul, spirit—as having one immutable meaning; but, having seen what his doctrine is, see further in what sense he is using the few poor words at his disposal. He is master of his words, not they of him; and he drives into them the meaning that they *can* bear, and that he wishes them to bear.

Such, then, are the possibilities in man. They will be explained in greater detail—at least as regards that to which the superadded gift corresponds—as we proceed.

But in many disastrous ways man has been far from realizing these possibilities; in fact, he has defied his "nature," both his supernaturalized nature, his "true" nature as God sees it, and even that body and that mind that are his prime constituents.

How has that come about? By sin.

How, and why, did man sin? How?—by the misuse of his free will. Why?—in part, at least, because he was tempted. Who tempted him? Paul, whose love and anguish are concentrated on our race, does not explain one terrible mystery that he—though not the first—announces. There are evil spirits in the universe. Their work is to tempt the souls of men to sin, and it was their king or chief, Satan, the devil or the adversary, who tempted the first man and involved the race in ruin. The how or why of their sin is no speculation of his.

There is no doubt that Paul teaches that Satan tempted Eve, for whose sake Adam sinned. This primeval serpent, this murderer from the beginning, this father of lies who sets the world astray, who can transform himself into an "angel of light," continues to tempt the world, and has found therein the most tragic success. The world can be called Satan's kingdom; he is "the prince of this world," "the god of this world," the father of the sons of rebellion—he who is the rebel in the universe and is surrounded with other spirits, rebels even as he is.[1]

It is perhaps significant that Paul, who unfolds with such exultation the scheme of God for rectifying the wrong that is done in the human world, and who understands so intimately the human nature that sins, never once makes any suggestion that the discarnate spirits who have sinned are to be redeemed. That terrible world of the fallen spirits and their chief may have secrets whereof we know nothing; but Paul never speaks of them. At least let the Christian start by realizing that there *is* a world of strong, perverted intelligences and wicked

[1] The devil: 1 Cor. v 3, vii 5; 2 Cor. xi 3, ii 11, vi 15, xi 3; 1 Tim. v 15, iii 6; Eph. vi 11. *Cf.* John viii 14; 1 John iii 8; Apoc. xii 9, etc. As for his rule over this world, see Heb. ii 14; 2 Cor. iv. 4; *cf.* John xii 31, vi 11, xiv 30. Paul curiously seems to assign to the devil and his activity a sphere in the *air*. See Eph. vi 11, ii. 2. The prince of the power of the air. I think that Paul detects a sort of affinity between *air* and these spirits who clearly are not earthly, material creatures like ourselves, so far as we are body, nor yet, he instinctively feels, to be described in quite the same way as the pure heavenly spirits who are not sinful. He is not here formulating any dogma, but using a natural way of talking and feeling.

wills that is inimical to him. "Our warfare," Paul cries—Paul, who has insisted again and again upon the hostile rôle that world and flesh can play, is, after all, not so truly against "flesh and blood" as "against the princes, the powers, the world-rulers of this darkness, against the spiritual forces of evil" in the invisible world. Against the "methods of the devil" we need the "panoply," the whole of the armour, of God (Eph. vi 11).

Adam, then, sinned, and thereby sent forth into the world *sin*. "Through a single man sin entered into the world" (Rom. v 12). A double sin. That is, Adam's own sin, and that original sin which meant the death of the supernatural life in the race. In Adam, all died (1 Cor. xv 22). "Through the disobedience of the one, all—yes, mankind in the mass—were constituted sinners" (Rom. v 19). The consequence of this supernatural death is that its image, physical death, no less, was set up in the world. "Death found its way into all men, because all had sinned." And, also, that disharmony within ourselves, that causes the flesh to "war" against the spirit (be this merely the mind or the supernatural impulses of divine grace, against which, too, we resist). With my mind I appreciate God's Law; but I find myself incapable of fulfilling it. We have not here to justify Paul's doctrine, but to state it. None the less, we may add that the doctrine of original sin is to be applauded by all who do not fail to realize the solidarity of the race. Moreover, it will be seen that the diffusion of original sin, owing to the race's

incorporation with Adam, has, standing or falling by its side, the redemption that comes through our incorporation with Christ. Those who admit Paul's doctrine of redemption by Christ must not quarrel with his doctrine of our fall in Adam. Christ is, definitely, for Paul, the second, though the better Adam—Head, he too, of the human race. Let us, then, clearly see that Paul teaches that Adam, endowed with original grace and living by a supernatural life, with preternatural privileges annexed thereto—that is, immunity from physical death, and integrity or harmony of all the components of his complex nature within himself—lost all this by his sin, and that we, in him, lost it too.

So far Paul has said nothing about our personal sins. But once we have been deprived of that supernatural succour God intended us to have; once, too, we have become the victims of those tugs, strains, inequalities within ourselves that are the natural concomitant of a complex and growing creature amid the varying stresses and solicitations of a manifold life, personal misuses of the will become, humanly speaking, inevitable. And Paul, personifying sin, paints his terrible pictures of its triumphant career through the world. It plays the king; it acts the tyrant; it has its slaves, though it pays them a wage, indeed—the cynical wage of death (Rom. v 21, 23; vi 17-20, etc.).

The direct consequence is that we simply have not anything in us that can lift us back into that supernatural life from which we (in Adam) could and did

evict ourselves. No amount of natural effort, however good, can achieve a supernatural result. This is at the root of Paul's attacks on the misuse of the Law by the Jews. In a thousand ways the Law was a training for the conscience: it made far clearer what right and wrong respectively were. But quite apart from the physical and practical impossibility of always obeying it, not even the most perfect obedience of the natural man thereto could achieve thereby a supernatural redemption. Hence, so far as supernatural life goes, we quite simply *are* slaves—we cannot get out of our condition; we are, quite simply, dead; we cannot spontaneously generate in ourselves a sort of life of which there is no root within us. Owing to a long history of personal sins, and to our tremendous background of sinning, by reason of our evil heredity, our weakened brains and our perverted minds, by force of our environment and its continual suggestion of wrong, it is also practically certain that we shall personally sin, and without grace that we shall not, as we have already said, consistently fulfil even the co-natural law of human life. But that is quite different from our inability to live, or to start to live, the supernatural life that Adam's sin deprived us of. Herein you see at once the doctrine which is so important in our day, when the perfectibility of human nature is so loudly preached, when the "supernatural" is described as merely the "natural raised to the *n*th"—namely, that God intends for us something better *in essence* than human nature, be it improved and developed to the

uttermost; and, again, the doctrine that the reformers travestied, when they spoke of the essential corruption of human nature as such and in itself. The body as such never was, and is not, evil; the "flesh" as such is as good as the rest of God's creation. Material things, human life, are not in themselves bad and hateful to God; and were there sentences in Paul which might provide the excuse for a pessimist to think that such indeed was his doctrine, by this alone the absurdity and wickedness of any such an idea may be shown, that it would involve the evilness, the hatefulness to God of the very body of Christ himself. For what the Eternal Son of God took up and united with his Divinity into One Person is, quite simply, our *human nature*.

Upon man thus constituted and thus freely made capable of yet higher destinies, God looks, then, today as at the outset, with love. Sublime as is St Paul's vision of the holiness of God, yet see how a tenderness pervades all he writes about him to whom our Lord himself has for ever attached the name of "Father." See how the word "overwhelmed" is used again and again of God's gift of blessings; how the words "super-abounded," "over-brimming," have to come back and back as we try to translate the Apostle's doubled and redoubled superlatives.

True, God's anger is terribly emphasized, but it is never on guiltless ignorance, upon sheer human weakness, that he expends it, but upon that real sin which devastates the divine plan for man's happiness—

upon evil will. Not the beloved disciple, not the gentle heart of our Lord himself, fail to show sternness, nay, passionate indignation, when deliberate rebellion rises against God's love.

Therefore God seriously wills that all men should be saved.[1] In his eternity, God has had before him —to use human language, as, indeed, we cannot *but* do—a vision of salvation. It is his good pleasure that such should be man's destiny; in his infinite wisdom, he sees the method by which this destiny should be brought about, and he wills that indeed it be so brought about. But not for a moment does Paul deny human freedom or treat it as overridden by God. God's grace is not coercive. Boldly Paul orders us to "work out our *own* salvation with fear and trembling," adding forthwith that it yet "is *God* that works within you both the will and the deed to accomplish his own good pleasure" (Phil. ii 12-13).[2] The initiative is with God, both for the race and for the individual. From, or rather in, his

[1] This is forcibly realized from 1 Tim. ii 1-5, where Paul insists that the Roman emperor and his officers should be prayed for, at the very hour when Nero was letting loose a frightful persecution against the Christians. Nor was this prayer a selfish one—just that the Christians might be saved. But it was based on God's definite will that *all* men should come to the *full* knowledge of the truth—that all men have one Father, and all share in one Redeemer.

[2] We do not propose to set forth the theology, still less the controversies, proper to these words. Suffice to say that in the process of salvation both God's will and man's must be operative, though God's precedes as well as accompanies man's, and without God's multifold help man could do nothing. Hence man, inspired by God, must work relying upon God, but he must *work*.

eternity, God elects us, predestines us, calls us, justifies us, and glorifies us.[1]

But the history, past and destined, of the world, is not for Paul simply an interplay of man's free will and God's, however merciful and rich both in pardon and in blessing. God himself sees, and acts, "in Christ." God sees not only man, but all creation—*all*, the supreme and spiritual part thereof, the invisible world of angels and archangels, and again, material existence itself—as straining up towards a union with and in Christ, that shall establish first their union with God, and thus their union with one another.[2] Once more I must say that St Paul, approximating to the divine vision itself, does not conceive of the "consummation" as merely a finish to a series of years, so that the "end" of the world is *merely* a distant date. But he sees all existence

[1] See especially Eph. i 3-14, and Romans viii 29-30. Still less do we intend to discuss the problems offered by such assertions to human reasoning. In two ways they constitute for us what may be called "false" problems. First, because words like "foresaw," "predestined," force us to imagine God acting, and thus existing, in a time-series, whereas his eternal life has neither before nor after, but is *totum simul*, an absolute *now*; second, because we are scarcely, if at all, capable of "imagining" human free will, and how an event can happen infallibly yet freely. It remains that God, in his eternity and infinite knowledge of all truth, knows our actions and the way in which we perform them; knows, therefore, that a free action *is* free; so that infallibly as it happens, it yet *must* happen freely.

[2] See especially Eph. i 9-10, and *cf.* p. 168. In his own way, that most remarkable Russian, Solovieff, a convert philosopher, expresses this doctrine throughout his works. For him, the universe at large, when perfected, becomes the body of Christ—the completed Church. A perfect and supernatural harmony is to be formed throughout all existence in Christ, owing to, according to, the free gift and will of God.

mounding itself up towards Christ, and Christ's existence, as it were, streaming down and ever more fully permeating human and, indeed, all other life; then, we may say, there comes a shock—the union is found to be completed, and Christ is All in all.[1] By means of his Son, and unto his Son, the new creation is accomplished, and (we are allowed to surmise), God having willed that such should be the consummation, it is but an additional manifestation of God's unconquerable love that this destiny should still hold good in spite of man's history of sin. Even had he remained sinless, that special destiny would not—nay, how could it?—have been accomplished without our incorporation into Christ. The change wrought by sin is not that the Word has been incarnate, but that being incarnate his rôle became that, too, of a freely expiating victim — propitiatory, not merely consummatory. St Paul does not say this in so many words: but since God's plan for the "recapitulation" of all things into Christ is from eternity, and independent, it would seem, of sin, that plan appears to involve, independently, too, of sin, the making of us into sons of God through him who is established the Eldest of many brethren.[2]

[1] It may be necessary to recall that by *union* we definitely *mean* "union," and not, for example, "fusion," nor yet identification. Christ and we are to be *united*, and truly "one," vitally so; but never are God and man to be numerically *one thing*. There is no pantheism in Paul, nor yet in John; no "absorption" of the universe into God any more than it is an "emanation," or part, of God.

[2] There has been no final decision on this point, and we hope it is one where dogma is still developing.

An exquisite legend tells that at the very hour, in the very place, of the Fall, God marked the tree that should prove ancestress of that wood whereon Christ died. And the inspired narrative in Genesis lets us know that not for a moment did the Creator abandon his will for man's salvation, but, even within his act of condemnation, included the promise of ultimate acquittal. Paul fixes his attention on the promise made to Abraham, because, no doubt, it was with that colossal figure that the history of the chosen people definitely started. But ever from the outset the promises had been made, and never in the future are they to be annulled. The promise made to Abraham is a sort of anticipated reflection of the Gospel—in him, *all* the nations of the world were to be blessed: yet within those nations, they only were his true descendants and susceptible of the promised blessing who, like him, responded by faith to the revelation and the grace of God. It was the response that the race was to find so hard in practice, and yet it failed to guess how really hard it was, in proportion as the knowledge of the moral law and of the nature and exigencies of God weakened among the peoples. Hence, to the physically chosen race, a Law was imparted, that by the experience of the moral impossibility of obeying its behests, men might learn, even while informed of what the right path was, to seek from God the strength to walk in it. In Rom. ix 4, Paul insists almost fiercely on the prerogatives of the Jew; yet throughout he even more desperately insists that the Law as such was no

means to salvation. How could it be? It was but a declaration, not a sacrament, still less a Saviour. Were, then, the Jews incapable of salvation? Were they but worse off, because, knowing better how to err, they were no stronger for avoiding error? No; for the Jew, helped by Law and by prophet, was well abler to turn to God ever more clearly, more spiritually known, and to seek, in faith, for that help he denies to no man. And were the pagans incapable of salvation in their relative darkness? No; for the promises were made to them too. Sufficient light was given to them, sufficient help; else what avail to make a promise on a condition that *could* never be fulfilled? As the gifts of God are "without repentance," so are they without mockery. It were mockery, did God promise something to one who *could* never gain the promised benefit. The pagans, then, had a knowledge of God that might be termed, very nearly, "instinct"; to the Jews was given some training, yet no more than an A B C; the weak and raw material of future and full knowledge; the Law led men by the hand towards something better than itself, to Christ; and when *he* was reached, the Law retired, and gave the child over to the hands of his true Educator.

In, then, this great mass of a world, we are taught to discern a growth and a "specification"—a growth, because the more created things understand themselves, the more they see that they must outpass themselves, and need the help which, in fact, they were destined to receive—namely, Christ; and a

"specification," because in the welter of humanity there distinguished itself, first, the chosen people, and, within it, groups that narrowed and narrowed, as it were, until they ended in One—namely, again, the Christ. But forthwith this eternal summit of all life is seen to pour, and to have poured, its waters, its Spirit, forth, back and around, and to vitalize all that it reaches. Again and again, there is here no favouritism. The Jews existed *not* for themselves alone, but to be the *world's* help and enlightenment. And there is no heedlessness on God's part of those who in mere years stood at the back of Christ, since in him there is neither yesterday nor to-morrow, but he is the Promised to all the world in every age.

He, then, whom we know as Jesus Christ, is one who has his existence, in some true sense, outside of time. And we must watch closely how St Paul affirms our Lord's eternal life "in the bosom," as St John will say, "of the Father." "Being by nature of the substance of God" (Phil. ii 6) means, on St Paul's lips, what St John means when he writes that "the Word existed at the beginning, and the Word was along with God, and the Word *was* God." And when St John says that "all things were made through him, and apart from him was made nothing," he states what St Paul states when he declares (Col. i 16) that "all things were made through him, and unto him." No human analogy holds altogether good. But somewhat as a man by means of his thought makes what he makes, and

even as his thought fills that work, and he "puts his very soul into it," and as, in the long run, that work has for its end to satisfy his thought, so, with all due safeguards, we may say that Paul sees the Eternal Son as the thought that God uses as his instrument in creating, as that which gives true selfhood, reality, meaning to the world in proportion as the world contains it truly, and towards which the tides of existence set. It remains that in all eternity Jesus Christ is true God. Hence, when all the spirit of the world was then leading men to heap every divine title upon the Emperor, Paul cries out that no one can exclaim: "*Jesus* is Lord," unless the Holy Ghost inspire him.[1]

Hence, how could it be but that, as Paul keeps saying, Christ holds the first place in all that is? Nay, even as man he must do so, for man though he be, he ceases not, for that, to be true God. Often have we seen that Paul insists on Christ's manhood —Christ, "made from a woman" (Gal. iv 4); Christ, our brother, tested in all points just as we are; Christ, who by his flesh saved us in ours. But

[1] His use of the title "Lord" deserves a special study. None knew better than he that in thus assigning it to Jesus, he was applying to him that name which in the Old Testament is peculiarly Jehovah's. Sentences from the Prophets, who affirm that whoso calls "on the name of the Lord" shall be saved (Rom. x 13), are transported bodily to the worship of the Son; that worship, then, is the same as the Jews gave to God, the Father of all things. Why, Paul will even say that God has bought for himself a church at the price of his own blood (Acts xx 28); and in Rom. ix 5, Paul cries that Christ is over all, God, blessed for ever; while to Titus (ii 13, 14) he says that we await the glorious manifestation of "our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ."

Christ was not to be our "summing-up" merely because he took our nature up into himself, but by reason, too, of that incorporating of ourselves into himself, of which, too, we have so often spoken.

Not as though in defiance, somehow, of his Father does Christ thus enter our human world, but "sent" by him, as our Lord so often said of himself. Love is the fountain from which flows all the incarnation and the work of the Incarnate. This work was the rectification of past wrong and the establishment of an eternal good. "Because of sin" Gods sends his Son after this manner (Rom. viii 3, 4); and thereby Christ becomes yet again the unique "mediator" between God and man (1 Tim. ii 5). Once, in a sense, Adam stood between us and God, in so far as we come into this world with him for our first ancestor, and from him derive our legacy of original sin. Christ is his better than counterpart: Adam, derived from earth, and in himself but "earthly"—that is, a natural man, with natural faculties of reasoning; Christ, derived from heaven, and with the very source of spiritual life within him. The stamp of the former has been upon us; henceforward we shall have on us and in us a stamp and a spirit that can come only from our new Lord (1 Cor. xv 44-49). In Adam, we died; in Christ, we shall be more than made alive.

Yet not without his experiencing the utmost of human things—that is, death. But was it that he might be "like us" in all things, simply, that he died? No. His death was a sacrifice.

All men by nature seek to recognize, even outwardly, their absolute obligation towards God. Hence they give him, set aside for him, something that shall represent themselves. That they may *feel* their gift to be not hopelessly inadequate as representative of their *selves*, they are apt to give what is most precious to them, or that over which (as we say) they have most "spread their personality," be it the fruit of their fields, or the produce of their flocks, or, what is most nearly their self, a member of their family, their son. That they may drive home to themselves that this gift is indeed such as God (but he alone) deserves—total, that is, and irrevocable—for our obligation to anything less than God can be but partial and may cease should that which claims it change—they are apt to destroy their offering, not indeed that God, the plenitude of Being, can be pleased by a thing being made less than it should be, less of a *being*, spoilt *as* a being on its own level, but that he may be shown, in symbol, that the self-offering is meant to be complete and unshared and unreclaimable. Hence, in hours of morbid aberration, human sacrifice has come into existence, and men have murdered their fellow-men in homage to God, or have mutilated themselves, or even committed suicide. Such rituals were, in fact, common in the peoples among whom the Hebrews lived, and the chosen people itself showed a constant disposition to revert to such practices. Moses must not be thought of as having *invented* sacrifice. Much rather was his work one

of check upon the instinct for sacrifice, which among the pagans amounted at times to mania. These, said the legislator, shall remain, or become, your sacrifices. And the work of the Prophets was, in this matter, to recall to the people, not that "sacrifice" was idle, but that material oblations had, *as such*, no value, but as representative of that interior homage that God deserved from men, and also, to turn their minds to that destined Sacrifice whereof we speak in a moment.

When men, however, refuse to God the homage that is his due, then, indeed, the destruction of the gift that represents them manifests most clearly that they recognize that they themselves deserve nothing else. They have refused to God his due; and God were most justified in refusing to them what he has freely so far given them; and what is that but life and all that they are?

Finally, since man is a "social being," a sacrifice can, in virtue of his solidarity with his fellows, be offered not alone for himself, but for his group; or, should the offerer be such as to sum up within himself, representatively at least, the whole human race, for that whole human race!

Man, then, could never have offered to God a gift such that God accepted it as adequate to himself, for God is infinite, and man, however pure, is finite. But he could, I suppose, have offered, in his innocence, the best gifts of which man was capable, acceptable therefore, not indeed as worthy, but as sufficient from the human end, so to say—sacrifices

of worship, thanks, and supplication. But once man had sinned and been deprived of that supernature God desired that he should have, while his actions (unless they were personal sins) would not have been tainted in themselves, yet they would have been quite different from what God wanted to have from him, and no pleasing or in any way sufficient sacrifice could he have offered.

When our Lord, however, came, it is clear that he could from the outset offer gifts intrinsically worthy in every way of God; and set as he was, in the divine plan, in all ways Head over the human race, he could offer sacrifice truly in their name. Thus, to begin with, he could provide the substance whereof all the old sacrifices were but the shadow; and in particular he could sum up in himself, and surpass, alike those sacrifices that symbolized in particular God's alliance with his people—a word that enters into the very phrase that consecrates the chalice; and, again, that Paschal sacrifice that attended the deliverance of Israel from Egypt; and, again, those sacrifices that belonged to the duty and need of expiation. Thus it is further clear that Christ reverses the act of Adam in so far as Adam disobeyed, and our Lord, freely, yet obediently to God's good pleasure, restores the race by the oblation of himself.

Paul uses all these considerations about the death of our Lord, and also a metaphor that has caused no little confusion, because, like all metaphors, it must not be worked out to its last detail. Our Lord is said to have *bought* us at the price of his blood.

That is, henceforward, as is surely clear, we belong to him. We are "not our own"; we are "bought at a price," the price being the inestimable value of his blood. Enough to see that our Lord did not hesitate to sacrifice his life itself sooner than tolerate our loss: what ought we not, then, to think of our indebtedness to him? We are simply *his*. But this should not be worked out in detail—as, for example, the answer to the question, *From* whom were we bought? *Who* held us prisoners, and received for us a ransom? Nor yet should we say that the Innocent was punished simply *instead* of the guilty. Paul never says "instead of"; always "for." In so far, then, as Christ's death is a substitution, it is so in virtue of the fact that in some sense Christ and we *are*, or at least can be and are meant to be, "in solidarity."

Let us rather say that our Lord's death is indeed a ransom, is a substitution, is a vicarious expiation, is, in some sort, almost all that it has ever been said to be; but it is none of these things *only;* and none of them can be so much as intelligible taken in isolation and apart from the whole of Catholic doctrine about man and his destiny and origin. Christ does *not* buy us back from some strange personification of sin, nor yet (desperate and almost blasphemous surmise) from the devil: yet indeed we were laden with a debt to God that we never could pay. He is not *merely* substituted for us, as though one person could ever do anything of spiritual—let alone of saving—value just instead of another, so that that

other should be credited with it; yet, indeed, we could never do for ourselves what he did *for* us. He is not merely a victim, as though a bloodthirsty God willed at all costs to have some one, even innocent, to scourge and to slay—as though God "hated" his Son, and angrily made him suffer on our behalf.[1]

No. In virtue of our solidarity with Jesus, *we in him die;* we in him are offered in the all-embracing sacrifice: "One died for all; so all died" (2 Cor. v 14); and precisely as Christ can be called "sin for us" (2 Cor. v 21), and even "a curse on our behalf"

[1] It is, indeed, true that our Lord could quite well have saved us without any of the dreadful details of his Passion, and even without shedding of his blood. God *could* have accepted any of the infinitely valuable actions of the God-man as adequate oblation on man's behalf. But our Lord, having taken up human nature into himself, did not choose to arrange privileges for himself; he did not most certainly *engineer* the sufferings of the Passion, and arrange that the sins and cruelties of others should enable him to save us; but having taken up, as I said, a human life, he not only did not exempt himself from the normal debt of all men—death, but he did not interfere with the course of things in his own favour. If his preaching involved, in the circumstances, his arrest, and if his arrest by Jews and Romans meant that he, like his fellow-men of that time and place, should suffer horribly, he was not going to invoke angels or miracles to rescue him from these normal consequences of his mission. Notice that his temptations suggested regularly to him to take the easier and (intrinsically) no less efficacious path. But his whole-hearted love forbade him to be a privileged brother of brethren disinherited. Speaking in our human way, the eternal Father may be said to have accepted his Son's oblation in the spirit in which it was made—that is, to have affixed the consummation of the sacrifice precisely to that before which our Lord did not will it to have been consummated—namely, the death on the Cross. Thus our Lord entered the world intending to save it at and by his death, and his crucifixion reaches him thus not merely as something not interfered with but deliberately chosen.

(Gal. iii 13), in virtue of our solidarity, so we, on our side, become righteousness in him, an acceptable sacrifice along with and within his own.

But we have not forthwith to suppose that everything has been done: that Christ has simply declared a solidarity to exist in making which we have no share. He does not force our salvation on us. We have in some way to appropriate it.[1]

In a word, a man, who would profit by Christ's death, must "believe."

We should do no service to our readers were we to enter into all the controversies to which this word, as Paul uses it, has given rise.

Fortunately, common sense and Catholic dogma coincide. We spend no time, therefore, arguing that "faith" is not a mere blind trust, any more than we shall hereafter insist that "justification" is not that quite extrinsic action of God's whereby he *declares* us, Protestantism taught, to be "just," "justified," "righteous," while we are nothing of

[1] Let me make a very crude illustration. A pyramid of lumps of metal roughly welded together. At its apex a lump that is electrified, but separated from the rest by a sheet of glass. The glass insulates the rest of the pyramid and the electricity does not reach it. None the less, if we want to work the thing out in detail, the glass lets both light and heat through. The underlying metal could "see" the apex-piece, and even feel heat coming from it, but would not be electrified by it. Well, Christ is necessarily the head of the human race, and contains, and is fain to impart, his supernatural life and influence. But there may be an obstacle that prevents him doing so—namely, our refusal to accept him. We may quite well see him intellectually, and even feel his attraction, yet we may stay "insulated." How is our sheet of glass withdrawn, and what exactly happens to us when it is?

the sort. It was held that Jesus Christ was so simply substituted for us in the eyes of God, that his holiness and merits were treated as if they were ours, though they were in no sense so; that his purity "clothed" us as with a white robe, though we, beneath it, remained filthy as ever, so that owing to this robe, God, on looking at us, could pretend (for what else were such a proceeding?) to himself that we were holy. . . . The only right method is to see, as usual, what Paul says and means, and to leave altogether to one side not only the controversies of which we may have heard, but even the notions to which the current English usages of the words "faith" and "believe" may have accustomed us.[1]

Religious faith is, throughout, for Paul, the taking something on the word of God. He signalizes various notable instances of this from the Old Testament, especially that act by which Abraham believed God when he told him that he was to have a son and descendants numerous as the stars and sands. Abraham had to believe this contrary to all human probability or indeed possibility; he believed, "hoping against hope." But the point is, that God told him something, and Abraham, on God's word, believed that it was true. Naturally, he went on to

[1] All the more must we do so, since "belief" is a substantive by no means really appropriate to the verb "believe." In Greek St Paul could use a substantive and a verb derived from the same root, just as he could in the case of "righteousness" and "justify," as we are forced to say. "Justice" does not really correspond for us to "to justify," and there is no one verb that corresponds to "righteousness" (see p. 163, n.).

trust God, and to be grateful to God, and so forth; but it remains that the "origin, foundation, and root" of all that followed, was this sheer act of taking as true what God told him. Thereafter, whether God spoke through Moses, or through prophets, men believed, in all cases, God speaking, and in each several case, the thing that God spoke. The Christian similarly begins by taking on the word of God all that Christ, either directly or through his Apostles, taught them, and can therefore say that he believes God, or Christ, or the delegates of Christ, and he can say that the body of doctrine that he thus believes is "his faith," and he can call the whole system that he has accepted, the whole "life" in the concrete to which he adheres, "the Faith." Of course he will go on, if, under God's impulse, he yields thus his assent, to trust and to love. But as origin, foundation, and root of all that follows, is, once more, quite simply, the intellectual act by which he takes as true, on God's word, what God says.[1]

Now it must be humanly possible for a man to yield to God's grace sufficiently to make thus his initial act of faith, and then forthwith to reject the obligation that accrues to him of obeying God's law in anything else. Assuming that he does, nothing further happens. He is neither "justified" nor

[1] These words, "origin," etc., are from the Council of Trent. See the following texts: "Faith (comes) from hearing" (Rom. x 17; Gal. iii 2 *et seq.*; 1 Thess. ii 13, etc.). "Without faith it is impossible to please God. For one who approaches God must believe that he exists, and becomes the rewarder of those who seek him" (Heb. xi 6. *Cf.* Rom. x 9; 1 Thess. iv 14, etc.).

"sanctified," as we shall say in a moment. But assuming that the man by an act of living faith, one that includes good will, the real and total acceptance of Christ, has done what God moved him to, God "justifies" him. God's righteousness is to our eye twofold, or can be thought of, at least, in itself and in its activity: it is that eternal attribute whereby God in himself is righteous, and it is that whereby he makes us righteous. He "justifies" us because, having accepted Christ, we are "found *in him*," and, as we have said so often, a solidarity is established in us with Christ by the ordinance of God. God therefore having called us, moved us, to believe, and we having responded to this initiative of grace, God further gives us "righteousness" and makes us righteous, and then declares the fact that we are so. Hence Paul can cry: "I desire to be found—not having a righteousness that is (merely) my own, arising from (doing) the Law, but that which (comes through) the faith in Christ, even the righteousness (that comes) from God, (based) upon faith" (Phil. iii 9). God then begins and follows through the whole process, but after the initial onset of grace, there is throughout a reciprocal activity of man. Therefore in a true sense all comes from God; yet never is man reduced to a mere machine, an inert recipient, but his will, free as ever, really responds and follows upon God. Whereupon, man *is* "sanctified." His "justification" implied, in itself, a remission, a cleansing. But since, save so far as his sins were personal, that remission is the neutraliza-

tion of a privation—that, namely, of original grace—that very neutralization could not in the concrete instance occur without the infusion of that whereof he had been deprived. Man is therefore forthwith given grace, "sanctifying grace," whereby he is made pleasing to God, and more than merely purified.

The Christian, then, has entered into Christ, and is a member of his Church. Better, he is a member of Christ along with whom his Christians form the Church. We have quoted sufficiently from St Paul himself to show all that this means to him. The Church is nothing less than the "complement" of him who is still "full-filling" himself, who has not yet reached the stature of his maturity. It may be useful to see that St Paul contemplates this unity of ourselves and of Christ in *two* sorts of ways. Thus at times he sees her rather as a body, whereof Christ is the Head, and then it is he who guides her, dominates her, and so forth, perfect though the organic unity may be that they compose; or, again, Paul barely distinguishes between Christ and his Church—Christ is in his Church and she in him; the whole Church is "clad in Christ," dipped in Christ, grafted into Christ.

One of the consequences of this incorporation with our Lord is that the whole most blessed Trinity lives within us, and that, not by virtue merely of God's omnipresence, but by that, precisely, of this supernatural state to which we have been raised.

Paul may be said not to have formularized the doctrine of the Trinity. None the less, all the

material for the future definitions of councils, for the deductions of the Church's theologians, are in him as they are in St John. That Paul held that there is one God only, who could doubt? Yet again and again he places together the names of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, in such a way as they cannot be tautological.[1] But for my part I would wish here chiefly to recall that St Paul thinks of the Holy Spirit less (so to say) in his relationship to the Father and to the Son directly than in his work in the Church, of which he is the soul. The inhabitation of the Holy Spirit in us makes of us God's temple, a favourite metaphor of St Paul's. And, again, he is more actively united with us than the god is with the temple he inhabits, for he is the source of our Christian activity. We are "reborn," our Lord himself tells us, through the Spirit; St Paul recalls that we "walk" and are moved by him. He is that love which is supreme among "motive-powers." "The love of God is poured forth in our hearts through the Holy Spirit that has been given us" (Rom. v 5). He who has not this Spirit, quite simply has not Christ (Rom. viii 9); but once we have the Spirit, forthwith he cries aloud within us the name of God as our Father, for he is the Spirit

[1] Indeed, it is remarkable that St Paul is far from feeling that the Three should be mentioned only in one certain *order*. Thus in 2 Cor. xiii 13, he invokes the grace of the Lord Jesus, the love of God the Father, and the Communion of the Holy Spirit; and in 1 Cor. xii 4, the order is, the Spirit, the Lord, and God. See also Titus iii 4 ; 2 Cor. i 21 ; 1 Cor. vi 11 ; and many other places.

of adoption in this sense, that being Christ's, and Christ being our brother, he witnesses within us, and causes us to witness, that the affiliation of ourselves has been accomplished and that we are truly sons of God. And if, indeed, he be thus within all Christians, how dare we thenceforward sever the links of love between ourselves and those who have, with us, "one Spirit"? "He who cleaves to the Lord *is* one spirit. . . ." Herein lies the communion of saints.

That we might have God "near" us, the incarnation was mercifully granted to the world. In further condescension to us men of sight and touch and hearing, this mystical body of Christ was *also* organized by our Lord as a visible Church. Lest we should lose ourselves in surmise and perhaps impressionism, all manner of part-material rites were instituted for us by our Lord himself, and the very incorporation of our being into his was made dependent, for such as knew of it and could reach it, upon the sacrament of baptism. So radical a thing is this, that St Paul treats it as one of the "elementary" things on which he wishes no more to insist among mature Christians. It goes with the initial doctrines of repentance, of judgement, and so forth, adhesion to which was asked, as a minimum, from the quite new convert (p. 245).

Yet Baptism is a subject that provokes some of Paul's loftiest teaching and enthusiasm.

So completely does Paul link up baptism with his absorbing revelation of the new life in Christ

granted to us, that he leaves in the second place even such imagery as the *word* "baptism," which means "dipping," might suggest, and what the rite itself makes so easy. He sees in the man who plunges under the baptismal water one who dies altogether to the old, natural life, and who re-emerges a new creation—in the baptism, he associates himself to Christ's own death, and his return is a display to all eyes that he is "risen," that he has now within him the only life that is indefectible.[1] We are simply transferred from Adam, to being "in Christ." This phrase, "baptism *into* Christ" (Col. ii 12) is a real revelation of his meaning. There is a purification (1 Cor. vi 11, etc.), an "illumination" (a word that became almost the favourite one, along with "seal," among Christians for this sacrament; Paul is at least very fond of the application of this idea, Light, to the Christian: *cf.* 1 Thess. v 5; Eph. v 8, etc.); there is "new birth" (Titus iii 5) and all manner of sanctification (1 Cor. vi 11, etc.), but, above all, baptism implies, absolutely, a completely new man; it is never the mere alteration of the old from a bad to a good condition of itself, but a substantial change, the production of a different sort of life within the baptized. Negatively, all germs of death, all sin, original and actual, are removed, and a new life is infused.[2]

[1] Rom. vi 3-7.

[2] In a complete study of St Paul his doctrine of Confirmation ought here of course to be given. It may be detected in Acts xix 2, and probably in 1 Cor. xii 13. But it does not bulk largely enough to call for insistence here.

The Eucharist carries on this doctrine.[1] I think that to St Paul it was almost inconceivable that a Christian, once baptized, should sin again. However, though the new life was a true life, and annulled all actual death in the baptized, and though the infusion of grace robbed sin of its extremity of power upon the soul, yet this new life, like any life, requires nurture and development. Else it may weaken and die out. As so often, Paul speaks officially of the Eucharist along of a chance occurrence—the ill-behaviour of the Corinthians thereat (1 Cor. xi). He recounts in unusual detail the institution of the Eucharist, together with our Lord's direction that this sacrament should be perpetuated in his Church as the Christian sacrifice and communion in the all-sufficient Victim. We have spoken of this above (p. 64), and need only recall that Paul teaches, in effect, that all that is falsely believed of the pagan sacrifices, and more than that, is the truth about the Christian one. Were "demons" anything, the sacrifices offered at their shrines would be true, though evil, offerings, and to eat at their table would be a true participation in the sacrifice offered to them; so the communion in the true body and blood of Jesus really present is a participation in that adequate homage that Christians are thus enabled to pay to God.

[1] Again, had we space, or were this more than a little book helping to make St Paul's epistles clear, it would be desirable to show at every step how he links up the Christian doctrine with the Hebrew past, as the substance is linked, so to say, with its preceding shadow. See the Mosaic antecedents to baptism and the Eucharist, 1 Cor. x 1-2.

To an historian, the question of St Paul's doctrine of the sacrament of order is undoubtedly full of interest; and, indeed, his correspondence with SS Timothy and Titus throws much light on what we dare to call Paul's "canniness." He knew human nature, its needs and probabilities, very well. But to dwell on this, in this brief survey of his doctrine, would be wrong. Better is it to recall that marriage itself is caught up by him into the realm where the supreme mystery of God's union with man, Christ's with the Church, shine forth. The mere fact that the book of Genesis had said that a man must quit his parents to cleave to his wife, and that they twain should be one flesh, makes Paul's mind spring to the vision of all that marriage *is*, that it may be the worthy symbol of something still far better. There is no hint of the Manichean in the austere and celibate Paul. Never has he made celibacy into a sacrament. But he declares that marriage is one. Never does he suggest that the flesh as such and in itself is bad. All these things have been lifted up by Christ —neither left as they were, nor yet contemned. But, to make even better than it was, is not, assuredly, to think trivially of that which is so favoured. *All* human life is, then, caught up into the divine ambit.

Nor need we, perhaps, any more point out how Paul, precisely because his vision flames so high, can return from his empyrean to give light and glow in Christ to every human relationship. The family, the State, master and slave, the poor—all these are envisaged not in the bleak illumination afforded by

the laws of social economics, but by that of the Day-Star risen upon the world. If the great Truths of Revelation *are* true, if towards them all lesser truths aspire, we have at once the goal and the route for every part of human life.

Some years ago we could, perhaps, have grieved that not enough was said or preached among Catholics of this life of grace and incorporation whereon, with St John, Paul dwells so insistently. That glorious doctrine is, surely, far more often upon our lips now than then. May we further hope that it will be realized more and more that the Christian faith is not one of death, but of life, of resurrection? Small wonder we find that difficult to realize. In more senses than one, "In the midst of life we are in death." And it is easy to make statues and pictures of our Lady and her Child, of the sacred humanity of our Lord, and crucifixes. But of the resurrection it is very hard to fashion anything that shall strike our imagination. None the less, the Cross itself were meaningless, had it not been transcended. The supreme lesson of that death is, that death had no dominion over *Christ*. Over the rest of men death played the king; but in Jesus death died. St Paul boldly says, Christ died on account of our sins, and was raised for the sake of our justification (Rom. iv 25). It was not indeed the resurrection, as such, that "merited" for us our redemption. On the Cross the redemptive work was "consummated." But it was "for the joy set before him" that Christ despised the Cross and endured the

shame: our justification is in view of our sanctification, and our sanctification for the sake of our glorification. Would we but believe that God joys in us! That our Lord exults in the triumphant outcome of his work—that is, in ourselves made all that he hoped, all that he suffered for. He looked *through* the frightful hours of Calvary to the ultimate reward, that was to be the salvation of our souls; nay, when we muse on this we can better guess—I will not say understand—how on the Cross itself and in its agony, indeed, by very reason of that agony—and the more the worse it was—he yet was deluged in soul with joy. The very psalm whose first words he quotes, expressive of the uttermost abandonment, ends with a cry of triumph and of trust. Henceforward, he who stood, as it were, alone, in the fullness of grace and life, begins to pour forth that grace and life into his fellow-men. The Spirit in its plenitude has resided in himself; now shall the Paraclete be given to his greater self; now in strength and beauty the Church builds herself up round about him; now is the Day-Star become the Sun of the World, and the light that but shone *on* men now radiates from within them.

XVII

IN CHRIST

This thought of resurrection must have been Paul's habitual companion during the closing months of the year 66 A.D., and when the spring of 67 once more

made Italy one loveliness.[1] Not that in his cell Paul could have taken much thought of seasons or of sun. Yet even Paul, I think, must have remembered. . . . His life had narrowed almost to a vanishing point. Thrown back so utterly upon himself, visited but rarely even by the very few friends who had remained faithful and who were in Rome, he surely must, now and again, have dreamed. . . . True, even in the vile promiscuity of his dungeon, he will still have laboured, spending himself for those few souls under the stifling vault, he who had had all nations for his field, and had journeyed from the eastern to the westernmost of the empire at his work. And then, Paul was not one, even at such an hour, to waste his soul in dreams. There was a reality that had always drawn into itself his life, Jesus Christ; and no dream with tender memories, with ghosts of ancient hopes, and the soft melancholy with which we are wont to involve all distant things, can have seemed to him worth while.

Still, even Paul will have felt, what all men may feel, for it is true—the wonder of human life and the wonder of his own. Looking back, he will have rightly allowed to return to his imagination that moment when God plucked him out of all that had made his world, and transposed his life into a new

[1] We do not propose to confuse readers with discussion as to the exact date of St Paul's martyrdom. At any rate, the place of it is certain; and in the year 67 Nero was absent in Greece, which would account for the tradition that it was under the decree of the city governors, not of the emperor, that St Paul was executed.

creation—a moment, at such a time, seemingly but a mere year distant, scarcely the other day; not merely because Paul was old—and for the aged the perspectives quickly close—but because that hour, when "Christ revealed himself in me," imitated, for Paul, the eternal vision, and not only shot forth its rays over the years that followed and followed it, but drew all years alike up into itself, and was a universal moment, a fire absorbing and exhaling itself, Christ himself, beginning and end together, since Christ was plenitude. Or did he, even now, bow down his face with shame, know himself for ever bruised in memory at the thought that more than any of his equals he had persecuted the Church of God, had sought to crucify Christ afresh in his saints? If to his mind returned the faces of those Christian men and women on to which he had stamped terror and torment, or had seen freezing into death, more strongly still to his inmost soul will have approached *their* souls, to which his persecution had occasioned the gift of that "presence with the Lord" that was so "far better" than anything of earth. Surely, keeping him company in his prison was the spirit of St Stephen! Surely, all that old time, so tragic, sent forth now nothing save what was peaceful and cheering to comfort him round about? So many cities had had him in their streets! What visions of gay Corinth, of shining Athens, white and scarlet Ephesus, of all that variegated coastland, of the North, Philippi, Thessalonika, of the heathy Asiatic uplands, came flickering back to him! How could they fail so

to come, since, without doubt, in his fetid darkness he was praying for them all? And yet, of all those towns, I suppose that Jerusalem will have come back to him the most often, a thought of torment if any such, in his Christ-given serenity, could be—Jerusalem that he knew had once and for all apostatized, and was on the eve of the consummation of her prophecies of doom. Three short years, and those walls and the temple were to be ruined. Yet perhaps, after all, it was Tarsus that came most persistently back to the aged Apostle's mind. See, in its streets, through its hot orchards, down by the walled-in waters, a little baby carried, the tiny Saul, stretching his hands, inarticulately calling to happy nurse and parents! Who could have dreamed a few years later that the grave little boy was to have grown thus, have become the fierce youth, so fierce that even the tenderness that in reality was his made but a new material for his fanaticism to feed upon? And then the gradually completed man, never less sensitive, yet never again cruel; never the grim tyrant; and then the embittered, disappointed man that the triumph of the faith in his despite would have made of him. . . . Well, the long life, with its passions, sublime and human, was now folded up, and all the towns were done with. Only souls, the more than memories, the immortal souls that he had encountered during that journeying, survived and flocked around him. Thronged by those souls, he started on his else so lonely departure out of Rome. For when the day came for the prisoner, unreprieved

this time, to be taken to his death, who else, save souls, can have accompanied him? Perhaps, outside the prison, a watcher stood, ready to tell the faithful that Paul was being hurried thence to die. Perhaps Luke was there; perhaps some steadfast woman of the devastated Roman Church, unable to do more than by her look, or some tacit gesture, to let him know that he was not quite alone. It was not well thought of that a citizen should be executed. The small military escort will have taken the quieter streets; but even so, whether it skirted the north of the Capitol, it will have passed the theatre of Marcellus and reached the Tiber opposite the little island near Hope's temple, and that district must have been well thronged; or, if it went round by the lower end of the Capitol rock, it will still have had to pass across the end of the Forum, and so, by the uproarious Velabrum, have reached the river just where the little round temple stands to-day. Thence you still may follow the prisoner's footsteps. Paul will have gone down through the markets and then the docks, and then the squalid suburbs that were the rubbish heaps of Rome. A handful of soldiers escorting an old and dingy Jew. . . . What attraction can that have had even for the bloodthirsty of that crowd? Probably the drinkers in the whitewashed, vine-trellised wine-shops will hardly have lifted their eyes twice to look at him. The sordid world of acrobats, of ragpickers, of collectors of broken crockery, that lived down there will not have ceased their pitiable trades to follow him. At most, I suppose,

a few streetboys, running along and jeering; possibly a mean crowd of Jews that recognized him and hurried to exult over the death of this their enemy, and the frightened twos or threes of Christians who could not leave him altogether. . . .

Upon that journey, did the words that not any thought could utter reverberate in his soul? the visions of the third heaven repeat themselves and eclipse for him finally not only the road but the insensate city—slums alike and palaces, with their waving violet silk, their colonnades white and gold, and the falling rosy petals? If I dared *hope* about what happened in that hour to St Paul, I should ask that none of this was his, despite what Gethsemani soever he, in his prison-house, had known. I should hope that he felt himself just as an old, sick man, hurried through noisy, confusing streets, and then blank, meaningless spaces as the houses thinned, surrounded by nobody who could understand or care. I want to think of St Paul just now as the very simple, quite lonely servant of Jesus Christ whose work was finished, and who was just asked by God to overcome his tiredness, go to an appointed place, and die.

They left the city by the Ostian street that followed, then, close by the Tiber embankment. The tall, shabby houses on the left concealed the great theatres and palaces of Rome; beyond the river, other mean houses heaped themselves, and, had he turned, the ridge of the Janiculum would have prevented him from seeing the place where Peter died. They

passed through the city walls, and for three miles endured the paved road that had little, at last, save tombs, each with its ragged cypress, between it and the fever-haunted fields. Then a smaller road led to the left. The place, called Aquae Salviae, having springs there that may have been medicinal, yet was quiet. A little pine-grove grew beside the path, and they went into it.[1] The soldiers stripped the old man, and, perfunctorily, as surely we may trust, scourged him once more with rods. Then they bound him to a pine-tree, covered his eyes, and with a sword beheaded him.

Friends of such a victim were allowed to take away his body. Humble hands lifted up the aged man's remains, brought them half the way back to Rome, and in a little cemetery buried them.

Not three hundred years had passed before a Roman emperor built above that spot the vast basilica that, restored and again restored, still stands as "St Paul's Outside the Walls," and Constantine placed upon that tomb the inscription that still is ours—"PAUL: APOSTLE; MARTYR." And far out in the country a grove of eucalyptus whispers to the three healthful springs that answer at its feet, and their insistent voice mingles with the prayer that day and night is offered in the church built on the else lonely place where Paul entered at last into the peace of Christ.

[1] Petrified pine-cones have been excavated at the very place where, according to the tradition very early known, Paul was tied to his pine-trunk.

APPENDIX I

ANALYSIS OF ST PAUL'S LETTERS

N.B.—This analysis has been kept as short as possible. Only salient points are given.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS

(see p. 92)

Salutation (i 1).

I. *a.* (i 2-10). Paul's joy and gratitude. His work among the Thessalonians has been effective. They are a model to Macedonia and to all Greece.

b. (ii 1-12). He on his side had acted with loving simplicity among them ; had fathered and nursed them ; had earned his living, though, as Apostle, he might have claimed support.

c. (13-16). They, on theirs, had accepted his message in the true supernatural spirit, and had suffered as sharply and as loyally as the Christians of Palestine.

d. (17-iii 5). So, unable himself to revisit them, he preferred to remain alone at Athens sooner than lack first-hand information about them, and had sent Timothy to them.

e. (6-13). Timothy had brought back good news. Paul rejoices, prays for, and blesses them.

II. *a.* (iv 1-8). Let them be especially careful to observe chastity.

b. (9-12). Their charity is wide and irreproachable. But they must be still more careful to give edification by steady, quiet work, else they may themselves need charity.

III. They need, too, fuller instruction on the dead and their destiny.

a. (iv 13-18). The living will not be better off, when Christ comes, than the dead. Christ's resurrection is powerful for all alike. The dead shall be raised; then we with them shall be caught up to Christ.

b. (v 1-11). As for the "when" of the last day, all we know is that it will be sudden. Therefore, keep spiritually awake, living always in the faith and hope of Jesus.

IV. (v 12-28). Final advice; blessings; farewell.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS

(see p. 99)

Salutation (i 1-2).

I. (3-12). Congratulations on their faith and loyalty; denunciations of those who disturb them.

II. *a.* (ii 1-2). Do not attend to suggestions as to the date, or imminence, of the last coming.

b. (3-12). It will not come till after the "apostasy," the unveiling of the anti-Christ and his apparent triumph. He is already at work, but held in check. The final triumph will be God's.

III. *a.* (ii 13-17; iii 1-5). Be loyal, and zealous; pray for the advance of the Gospel, and may God guide you.

b. (6-16). Rebuke the recalcitrant; avoid the obstinate. Remember my example—I worked hard for my living. Tolerate no idleness (as though the last day were imminent and exempted you from work).

IV. (17-18). Paul's autograph and farewell.

FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS (see p. 115)

Salutation (i 1-3). Congratulations and good wishes (4-9).

I. *Rival Cliques at Corinth.*

a. (10-17). I hear there are cliques among you—one belongs to Apollos, another to Paul, another to Peter. Intolerable! Christ is not in fragments. Anyhow, you cannot call yourselves *my* property: *I* baptized hardly a man among you. I preached. And preached what? The Cross.

b. (18-31). The Cross will attract neither Hellenizers, who want philosophy; nor Judaizers, who seek miracles. I preached the Cross, and it has proved its wisdom in the unlearned, and its power in the weak. Consider your own Church. It is neither cultured nor important. Yet it can put to shame the world. It can boast—but in *Christ*.

c. (ii 1-iii 5). Even so, I did not develop those lofty supernatural themes the world knows nothing of; I gave you simple doctrines, neither arguing nor philosophizing. Only spiritual men can appreciate spiritual things, and you are still "material"; your rivalries and pluming yourselves on great names prove it. All equally are Christ's servants.

d. (6-23) Paul may plant, Apollos water; God alone makes grow. Paul founds, others may build. But let the building be solid, else when tested it shall perish as by fire; the builder, if his intention has been pure, shall escape, but through the flames. No. The foundation is Christ; what is built thereon must simply be Christ's temple. Do not spoil it. Sophistical disputes do spoil it. Leave them, and all other human considerations, alone. We who taught you, simply exist for you; and you belong to Christ, and Christ is God's.

e. (iv 1-5). We Apostles are but the dispensers of *God's* mysteries. Hence to him alone are we responsible. *He* shall judge, not human verdicts! Why—I do not decide even on my own self, though my conscience seems clear.

f. (6-21). Frankly, you are setting yourselves up as critics of your teachers. They seem mean to you. No. *We* are in authority. And lest I should have to come and use severity, I have sent Timothy ahead of me, to bring you to a right mind.

II. *Special Cases requiring Decisions.*

a. (v 1-13). One of you is living in unheard of incest. Cast out this poisonous leaven. (I said, you must not associate with the impure. I meant, of course, immoral *Christians.* Else you would have to leave the world altogether. As for pagans, God judges *them.*)

b. (vi 1-11). That reminds me—you sue one another in pagan courts! Christians—judged by pagans! Is none of you capable of acting as arbitrator? Nay, would it not be better to suffer injustice? And as for *acting* unjustly! You are "*born* anew": let your *life* too be new.

c. (12-20). I return to the subject of chastity. Do not imagine that my favourite phrase, "All things are licit for me, but not everything is suitable," refers to *chastity* (see below). The body belongs to God—we are incorporated with Christ—we are the temple of the Spirit, and bought to God at the price of Christ's death.

d. (vii). Marriage and Celibacy.

1. (1-7). The obligations of marriage are reciprocal. Abstinence may be permitted if agreed to, for a time, and for a right motive. I do not *impose* cohabitation—indeed, I counsel abstinence.
2. (8-11). Marriage, though less to be counselled than Christian celibacy, is better

than inconvenience, and is absolutely indissoluble. Should a separation occur, no new marriage may be contracted.

3. (12-24). If the pagan partner of a convert depart, the convert is freed. On the whole, though, it is better to stay as you were when you became a Christian.

4. (25-38). The Christian life is more easy for the unmarried than for the married. A father who gives his daughter in marriage does no wrong; but he who keeps her a virgin does better.

5. (39-40). A widow may marry anew, provided it be with a Christian. But to remain as she is is better.

6. (viii-x). Food offered in sacrifice to idols.

1. (viii). Charity may rightly override an impeccable theory. In itself, food is unaltered by having been idol-food still, to see to eaten might give scandal to an ill-formed conscience. Sooner than distress my brother, for whom Christ died, I would eat no meat for ever.

2. (ix). Somewhat similarly, I as an Apostle, have the right to be supported by the faithful; but I abdicate this right and earn my own living.

3. (x 1-13). The history of the Hebrews gives us a hint. They, too, had a supernatural food. Yet they fell into idolatry and horror. So may we.

4. (14-24). Idolatry is forbidden. But to share in a sacred feast is to communicate with that to whom the sacrifice is offered. We, by our Eucharist, enter into communion with Christ. You cannot do that *and* communicate with demons.

5. (25-xi 2). Buy in the markets without scruple. Accept invitations; but if your

host says, "This comes from a temple-feast," do not eat it—on *his* account. Seek God's glory and the good of your neighbour. So Christ, so I, have given example.

f. (xi 1-16). Women, in church, must be veiled.
1. (3-12). Though man and woman are interdependent, woman is subordinate to man, and the veil expresses this.
2. (13-15). Nature suggests that a veil is suitable.
3. (16). Such, anyhow, is our universal custom.

g. (17-34). The celebration of the Eucharist.
1. (17-22). Social cliques mar the union of your love-feasts. Take your meals at home.
2. (23-34). I recall to you the origin of Holy Communion. To receive it irreverently, without attention to the presence of our Lord, is to invite disaster.

h. (xii-xiv). The problem of special mystical gifts.
1. (1-11). The Spirit alone is the author of all true gifts. He distributes them as he wills.
2. (12-30). Their variety suits the complexity of the body of Christ.
3. (xiii). Seek ever the best gifts—but the best of all is divine charity.
4. (xiv 1-25). Prophecy is better than speaking with tongues, for all understand the former, none the latter, unless there be an interpreter. Besides, an outsider would think the latter sheer delirium.
5. (26-40). Let not more than two or three persons prophesy in each reunion, nor yet speak with tongues, and never without an interpreter. Women must not speak in church.

i. (xv). The resurrection of the dead.

1. (1-11). The fully attested fact of the resurrection of Christ is the foundation of our faith.
2. (12-19). But the point of Christ's resurrection is our own. Were he not risen, the witnesses would have erred; we should not rise; our faith were vain, our hope a cheat.
3. (20-24). As death came into the world through Adam, so through Christ came life. He is the first-fruits only from the dead.
4. (25-28). Thus Christ conquers death itself, and is universal King.
5. (29-34). You are so firmly convinced of this that you "baptize for the dead"; and *we* are so convinced that we support every labour.
6. (35-58). The body with which we shall rise will be a "spiritual" and incorruptible one. Our transformation at the last day.

III. (xvi). Practical advice, especially about the collection for Jerusalem, and personal recommendations. Farewell.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS

(see p. 130)

I. (i 1-2). Salutation.

II. (3-11). A strong assertion of Paul's love for and trust in the Corinthians.

III. (12-vii). Paul justifies his past behaviour.

a. (12-ii 14). The Corinthians had called him inconstant for not coming to them when he had said he would. Well, he had not wished to come with severity. He had been tormented as to what they would do about the incestuous man.

That question was now settled. Titus brought good news.

b. (15-v 11). He was accused of insincerity out of human respect! No. Such is the vocation, and dignity, of apostles that any disguise on their part is out of the question. They are not, and cannot be, pusillanimous, such is their trust in God, and their longing for that glory to which only death can admit them. They seek to please *God*.

c. (v 12-vii). He had been accused of despotic arrogance. But he has not outstripped the freedom and detachment proper to an apostolic delegate of Christ.

IV. (viii-ix). The Jerusalem collection.

a. (viii). Let them emulate the Macedonians' generosity. May he find the collection finished when he arrives. He is not coercing them; but Christ, for our sakes, made himself poor! At least let there be a holy equality among Christians. He recommends his three alms-bearers.

b. (ix). Paul underlines these considerations, and insists on that of supernatural reward. Harvest is proportionate to seed. God is not outdone in generosity.

V. (x-xiii). Renewed, and fiercer, self-defence.

a. (x 1-18). Let not his adversaries plume themselves on his seeming insignificance. He possesses a double authority—that which God has given him, and that which he has won by converting the Corinthians. Let him not be forced to return to Corinth in wrath.

b. (xi 1-15). Paul is jealous for the Church of Corinth. Let her not, like Eve, be seduced. The agitators have no real gift to offer her. Paul's very moderation had been turned against him. He asked but little from them; therefore he did not love them? He asked little lest he should resemble her false apostles!

c. (16-xii 10). Paul boldly compares himself with his detractors in his Hebrew origin and behaviour; in his sufferings; in his spiritual gifts. As a set-off to these, God has given him a mysterious humiliating disability. But God's power triumphs in human weakness.

d. (11-xiii 10). No. The Corinthians have no grounds for thinking him unloving. But when he comes he will, if need be, act with force and severity.

VI. (11-13). Brief farewells.

THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS (see p. 146)

Salutation (i 1-5). This superscription makes a double point in harmony with the purport of the letter. Paul's authority is not immediately nor even mediately human. Jesus Christ is by his death the sole Redeemer of the human race. Therefore, Paul will argue, my doctrine is the only true one; and you have no need of anything (*i.e.*, legalistic, Jewish observances) over and above Christ.

I. (i-ii).

a. (i 6-24). Paul's Gospel is the only conceivably right one. He received it direct from Christ himself.

b. 1. (ii 1-10). The apostles of Jerusalem entirely sanctioned Paul's procedure; and

2. (10-21). On a famous occasion Peter actually altered his behaviour upon Paul's representations.

II. (iii-iv). The Law has played no part in the conversion of the pagans.

a. (iii 1-5). Recall your own history. Did I preach the Law to you? No. But Christ crucified. And forthwith you received the Spirit.

b. (6-14). Abraham was justified on a basis of faith. For there was then no Law. But it is in Abraham that all nations are to be blessed: therefore, on the same basis, faith. The Law did but introduce a curse, and Christ, by dying,

took that curse on himself, and exempted us from any consequences the Law might have had in our regard.

c. 1. (15-22). The promise to Abraham was unconditional. The Law was a bilateral contract, and cannot *annul* the promise.

2. (23-iv 20). The Law was but a slave suited to lead the childhood of humanity to school. So long as you were under age you were even as servants. Now you are mature and emancipated. Why retrograde? (All the same, Paul, recalling the tenderness of the Galatians towards him, feels that they are still his little children.)

d. (21-31). An allegory showing the relation of the Synagogue to the Church.

III. (v-vi).

a. (1-12). Therefore we are exempted from "works of Law," whereof circumcision, to which you are solicited, is chief and involves the rest.

b. (13-25). Not that this implies licence. We must resist "works of flesh" and do those of the Spirit.

IV. (vi). Final advice and farewell.

THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS (see p. 156)

I. Salutation (i 1-17), including—

a. (1-7). A summary statement of the person and work of Jesus Christ;

b. (8-17). A synoptic view of God's dispensation to man—salvation, by means of the Gospel—applied first to the Jew, then to the Gentile, but resting always upon faith, and productive of righteousness.

II. (i 18-iii 20). Outside the Gospel, no true righteousness.

a. (i 18-32). The heathen did not possess it. By refusing to live according to the light that was theirs, they degenerated even in their nature. Their minds grew darkened; their conscience seared.

b. (ii 1-iii 20). The Jews did not possess it.

1. (1-24). Knowledge of the Law did not help them to observe it. Nay, having sinned equally with the pagans, they are the worse condemned.
2. (25-iii 8). The rite of circumcision did not create righteousness.

c. (9-20). Hence neither pagan nor Jew can set himself up as righteous in the sight of God.

III. (iii 21-iv). The Gospel promises, and gives, righteousness.

a. (21-26). God, by means of the blood of Jesus, on the basis of our faith, communicates to us his righteousness, to his own glory.

b. (27-30). Independently, therefore, of Law-works.

c. (21-iv). Test this by Scripture, especially by the instance of Abraham, to whom and to whose heirs God gave righteousness on a basis of their faith. The Law, introduced later, cannot annul God's promise.

IV. (v-viii). Consequent solidity of our hope.

a. (v 1-11). Hope, then, and peace are pledged to us by the gift of the Spirit. Christ died for us while we were sinners; still more will he make us live by his life now that we are made righteous.

1. (12-22). Sin is conquered. In Adam all sinned. But Christ, the new Adam, more than restores what Adam took away.
2. (vi). Death, the consequence of Adam's sin, is conquered. In baptism we die to death, and emerge with a new life that we must strive to preserve.
3. (vii 1-6). The Law is abolished. A bilateral contract ceases to exist when one of the contracting parties dies. But we *have* died, and become a *new creation* owing to our incorporation with Christ.

4. (parenthesis: 7-25). Why was the Law abolished? Was it sinful? No. But its very prohibitions, by showing accurately what sin *was*, showed men too that they could not live sinless. There is a conflict within man that the mere *Law* cannot quell. Only grace can do that.
5. (viii 1-11). The flesh is conquered. The struggle still goes on, but the inhabitation of the Spirit, due to our incorporation with Christ, is at once the assurance and the instrument of the possibility of victory.

b. (viii 12-39). The unshakable foundations of our hope.

1. (18-22). All creation pants for its redemption.
2. (16-27). The Spirit, inhabiting us, is our guarantee.
3. (31-33). God is for us: he makes all conspire to our triumph.
4. (35-39). Christ obtains and keeps salvation ready for us.

V. (ix-xi). The incredulity of the Jews.

a. (ix 1-5). The Jews will not believe. And that, despite their prerogatives.

b. (ix 6-29).

1. (6-13). This does not conflict with the fidelity of God; for though his promise was to the seed of Abraham, this does not mean to each and every descendant of his. Think of Esau and Isaac.
2. (14-29). Nor with his justice. The argument here cannot be condensed (see p. 170).

c. (ix 30-x 21). The Jews are responsible for their own disaster. They have always had among them those who refused to believe. It is not that they have not been told, or have not heard.

d. (xi). However, their rejection is only partial—there has always been a remnant that was obedient; and temporary—they shall return. How far easier is the regrafting of the original olive-branch upon its own stock than that of the pagans upon a stock that was not theirs. But this has happened. God's gifts are without repentance, and the Prophets have foretold the return of the Jews.

VI. Christian morality (xii-xv 13).

a. (xii-xiii). General precepts.

1. (xii 1-21). Christian morality flows from the fact of our forming the mystical body of Christ.
2. (xiii 1-7). Hence the supernaturalizing of authority.
3. (8-14). And of charity, which sums up our obligations.

b. (xiv-xv 13). Certain specific duties, especially in regard of sacrificial foods.

VII. Conclusion (xv 14-xvi 27). Personal recommendations and observations. Farewells.

THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS (see p. 200)

Salutation (i 1-2).

I. (i 3-26).

a. (3-11). I love, am grateful to, and trust and long to see you.

b. (12-14). My imprisonment does good. I meet all sorts of persons, and others redouble their zeal to spread the faith.

c. (15-20). Yet some profit by it to preach, thinking they thus undermine my influence.

d. (21-26). What matter? *Christ* is preached. To me, life *is* Christ—though death were gain. . . . But I shall live, and revisit you.

II. (i 27-ii 18).

a. (i 27-ii 5). Only do *you* stand firm, and permit no factions in Philippi.

b. (6-11). Reflect on Christ's self-emptying—the Incarnation, the Crucifixion.

c. (12-18). Work out your salvation, not in a spirit of criticism, but of due fear. It is *God* who started, guides, and will consummate this good thing in you.

III. (19-30).

a. (19-24). I propose to send Timothy to you till I can come myself.

b. (25-30). And I am sending back the invaluable Epaphroditus.

IV. (iii 1-16).

a. (iii 1-3). I repeat—beware of Judaizers.

b. (4-6). As for their qualifications *as* Jews, they cannot eclipse my own.

c. (7-11). But I have renounced all that, for the sake of my God-wrought salvation, based on faith, through incorporation with and assimilation to Christ.

d. (12-16). Not that I possess my salvation save precariously. We must struggle to the end. Think over this.

V. (iv). Personal messages, especially thanks for alms. Farewells.

THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON (see p. 195)

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS (see p. 211)

Salutation (i 1-2).

I. (3-14).

a. (3-8). Paul thanks God for their good behaviour of which he has heard.

b. (9-14). He prays that God will complete their spiritual understanding, and cause them to gain the full fruits of Christ's redemption.

II. (15-ii 5). Paul teaches the true doctrine of the person and work of Christ.

a. (15-17). His relation to the Father and to the world in general.

b. (17-20). And to the Church in particular.
c. (21-23). Into which Church the Colossians are incorporated, through Christ, by the special ministry of
d. (24-ii 5). Paul himself.

III. (ii 6-iii 11). What the life of incorporation implies.
a. (6-11). It is a supernatural thing, not deriving its value from any human ordinance or doctrine whatsoever.
b. (12-15). The change it makes in us is due to Christ, in whose death we died and in whose resurrection we have risen.
c. (16-23). So you need not attend to any esoteric "initiations" nor to the false asceticism that goes with them.
d. (iii 1-11). You are destined to glorification in him; die, then, not only to sin, but to the whole merely natural life. Nothing counts, save your re-creation in Christ.

IV. (12-iv 1). Moral counsels.
a. (12-17). Virtues in general.
b. (18-21). The Christian family.
c. (22-iv 1). Slave and master.

V. (iv 2-18). Personal greetings and farewells.

THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS (see p. 222)

Salutation (i 1-2).

I. (i-iii). The mystery of Christian incorporation with Christ.
a. (i 3-14). God, in his eternity, has foreseen and predestined us in Christ, and has revealed this his secret in two great stages—the vocation of the Jews, and then that of the pagans. All is to be consummated into Christ.
b. (i 15-ii 22). This has revealed itself in the concrete in the Church, into which the pagans have now been called no less than the Jews. All barriers have fallen; there is now only one

edifice, God's living temple. Paul prays that his readers may have more and more light till they realize what this means.

c. (iii). Paul repeats this petition, and insists that it is he to whom the proclamation of this mystery was especially entrusted.

II. (iv-vi). Christian morality.

a. (iv 1-16). Positive principles. Lead a life suited to your vocation. One, that is, peculiarly of union. Even the most special graces are only intended to make this union perfect.

b. (17-30). Negative principles. Do *not* imitate pagan lives.

c. (31-v 20). This reverts to the positive aspect of the Christian life; imitate in all things Christ.

d. (21-vi 9). Special duties of wives, husbands, children, parents, slaves, masters.

III. (10-24). Final exhortation and farewells.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY (see p. 232)

I. (i 1-2). Salutation.

II. *a.* (3-10). Suppress false doctrines, especially such as misinterpret the bearing and value of the Jewish Law.

b. (11-20). This is Paul's special duty; let Timothy, too, be faithful.

III. *a.* (ii 1-7). Public prayer should be organized and exclude no one.

b. (8-15). Due behaviour of men and of women at prayer, and their mutual relations.

IV. (iii). Choose carefully the candidates for the ministry, both the "episcopi" and the deacons. Let a perfect and appropriate behaviour reign throughout Christ's Church. Christ in the universe *is* the "mystery of worship."

V. (iv). There is another danger besides the reactionary legalistic one—a disastrous dualism and false asceticism. Let Timothy, though young, be able to counteract this.

VI. (v-vi).
a. (1-16). Due treatment of widows.
b. (17-25). Of ecclesiastical officials.
c. (vi 1, 2). Of slaves and masters.
d. (3-21). Sporadic recommendations and farewells.

THE EPISTLE TO TITUS (see p. 233)

Salutation (i 1-4).
I. 1. (5-16). Titus has been left in Crete to complete the organization of the Church there, and to establish a suitable hierarchy. Qualities necessary for a good clergy. Qualities that should exclude a candidate: these are often inherent in the Cretan character.
2. (ii). Qualities suited to the aged of either sex; to the young; to slaves. Grace must educate us into the perfect Christian folk. Titus must set the example.
3. (iii 1-8). There must indeed be a complete ethical change in those regenerated by the grace of God and the inhabitation of the Holy Ghost through baptism.
4. (9-11). Heretics must be rebuked and, if obstinate, excommunicated.
II. (12-14). Personal details and farewells.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY (see p. 237)

Salutation (i 1-2).
I. (3-18). Let Timothy have courage to live up to his education, and to the obligations of his ordination, by means of the grace received then. Let him keep the faith as Paul does. Not all are grateful or loyal.
II. (ii 1-13). Manner of and motives for right behaviour. Be a good soldier—a good athlete—a good workman. Let the passion and glory of Christ inspire us.

III. (ii 14-iv 5). Do not argue with innovators, but teach them positively what Christian doctrine is. Do not be astonished that such antagonists exist. Be, when necessary, severe, and always firm. No compromise with error.

IV. (6-22). Paul's own career is over. Final recommendations and farewells.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS (see p. 239)

(The main object of the letter is to show the transcendence of the Christian religion over the Jewish, so as to encourage the sorely tempted Palestinian Christians.)

I. (i-iv). Christ's Person and Law transcend the Jewish ones.

a. 1. (i 1-14). God, having spoken to the world fragmentarily and in many ways, has now summed up his revelation in a Son—far higher than even the angels.

2. (ii 1-4). Those who scorned the earlier, angel-transmitted revelation, were punished. How much more those who disregard Christ!

3. (5-18). "But Jesus was humiliated below the angels? He suffered and died?" Yes, but for a brief space only; and that he might sympathize with and help us in *our* weaknesses. Now he is exalted over all that is.

b. 1. (iii 1-6). He is also above Moses, as a son of the house is above a servant.

2. (7-19). Those Israelites who rebelled were excluded from the promised land. Let *us* not do so, but

3. (iv). Earnestly press forward to *our* home—our "Sabbath-rest." We may enter it if we are faithful; for though God's truth is terrible, yet our High Priest is all-merciful, and we can have confidence in him and in God through him.

II. (v-vii). Christ's priesthood transcends the Levitic one.

a. (v 1-10). Christ is truly "priest," since he represents man to God, participates in humanity, offers a sacrifice of expiation, and is called to this office. He transcends the Levitic priesthood in this—his priesthood is eternal, and so, therefore, is his saving sacrifice. He is a "Melchizedek" among priests.

b. (11-vi 20). (A parenthesis.) Alas that you should have reverted to a sort of second childhood! You cannot stand the doctrinal food of the "mature." Yet I will not myself revert to elementary Christian doctrine, if only because one cannot reinstruct the Christian who has known the faith and rejected it. Stern words? Well, I still hope, since God has *promised* his blessing to the spiritual posterity of Abraham.

c. (vii). Melchizedek, not the Levitic priest, is the true figure of Christ. Abraham himself submitted to pay tithes to him. How far, then, must Christ transcend the Levitic priesthood, whose office, moreover, was not established, as Christ's is, by an eternal oath from God!

III. (viii-x 18). Therefore the whole Christian covenant, with its sacrifice, is better than the old one with the Aaronic sacrifices.

a. (viii). Together with the priesthood the whole covenant is transferred to Christ, and is established henceforth in his person.

b. (ix 1-14). The earlier tabernacle had a Holy of holies that was shut to all save the high priest. Access to God was not yet free. Christ has flung it open to all.

c. (15-x 18). He has sealed *his* covenant with his own blood. How much more precious than that of mere animals! Moreover, the earlier

sacrifice had to be renewed each year. Christ's is unique, and has an eternal, infinite, and all-powerful value.

IV. (x 19-xiii). Persevere, then, in the faith of Christ.

a. 1. (19-25). The person and work of Jesus give us an overwhelming motive for confidence and mutual encouragement.

2. (26-31). The appalling nature of apostasy! Since it tramples under foot the blood of the new eternal covenant, what *further* is left by way of remedy?

3. (32-39; xi). Recall your own past history of fervour, and the splendid examples of the Old Testament.

4. (xii 1-3). Recall again the example and glorification of Jesus.

b. 1. (5-13). You have not thus far actually suffered martyrdom. Your troubles are the loving chastisement of God.

2. (14-29). Do not resist that lessoning, nor sell your inheritance, as Esau did his birthright, for a trivial momentary reward. Nor do worse than the Israelites, who resisted God's voice on Mount Sinai. You, on your Mount Sinai, your heavenly Jerusalem, in the Church, thronged with angels, are still nearer to God. Be not deaf to him.

3. (xiii). Live like worthy Christians. Abandon altogether the Jewish ritual, and, if need be, follow Jesus forth outside your city to the place of crucifixion. Farewells.

APPENDIX II

EPISTLES FOR SUNDAYS AND GREATER FEASTS TAKEN FROM ST PAUL

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II. DOCTRINAL

1. *God* (252, 253), Infinite Spirit (86, 87), Creator and preserver of all things (49), albeit the Invisible (212), can be known with certainty by the human intelligence (156, 157) and recognized in conscience by all (*ib.*, 160, 161); for
2. *Man* (254-259) is body and soul; outer and inner; sense, mind, and conscience (62, 64-65, 167, 168, and *passim*); but able to be, further, "supernaturalized" by the revelation and special communication of God (117. See Grace). Though man is "body, soul, spirit," he is not *tripartite* (285).
3. *Satan* (and his evil spirits, 259, 261) tempted and seduced man and is in permanent warfare with him (66, 94, 104, 105, 120, 131, 135, 137, 225). His first victim was
4. *Adam* (261-263), whose sin, by virtue of our solidarity with him, deprived our race of its original justice, and of the preternatural gifts of immortality and integrity (165-167, *cf.* 129): and
5. *Sins* (personal, 262) have ever since darkened the intelligence and hardened or weakened the will of all men alike (62, 63, 113, 121, 152, 156-161, 162, 165, 166, 213, 225, 229, and *passim*). Yet human nature is not *in itself* corrupt (264), though it cannot regain its

super-nature by any effort of its own, but

6. God wills all men to be "saved" (265, 266), and foresees, predestines, and calls us to salvation (168, 169), provided only that our free will co-operates (278) and that we work the works of salvation (87, 120, 121, 152, 162, 166, 217, 225, 229, *passim*). God chooses to accomplish this through
7. *Christ* (266, 267, 268-282), who (*a*) is the co-Eternal Son of God, through and in and to whom God made the world (212, 219, 270, 271, and note, etc.); (*b*) is to "recapitulate" into himself all creation, and is thus to consummate the whole world (103, 129, 168, 199, 212-222). Thus he is the *Pleroma*, the Plenitude, and not *one of many*, in a series (as the pre-Gnostics suggested) (212, 199, 220-222, 233). For as, being (*c*) true Man (271, *cf.* 204, 243, 245), he can be and is (*d*) the Second Adam, with whom the "new creation" is incorporate (264, 267, 282, etc., 31, 97, 103, 121, 127, 133, 149, 153, 165-168. See *Pleroma* above), and has offered (*e*) the Perfect Sacrifice of worship, expiation, and ransom (272-278, 243-248, 58, 66, 67, 87, 115, 132, 133, 143, 153, 162, 165, 167, 169, 204, 213, 214, 226).
8. God prepared for this (268-270)—(*a*) by his promises to Abraham and his descendants (145, 148, 149, 164, 170, 114); (*b*) by the Law given to Moses, which, though it gave no righteousness to man, yet taught what was, and was not, sin, and also, that man by himself could not keep free from it. Hence it "educated towards Christ" (269, 148-151, 161-167), and is now definitely transcended, circumcision included, salvation being offered to the whole world by the free grace of Christ (2, 30, 36, 37, 46, 47, 55, 58; *cf.* 73, 94, 144-153, 160-168, 213, 214, 216-217, 223, 224-226), of which "mystery" Paul is the appointed proclaimer (54, 146, 147, 213, 218, 226, 227).
9. Upon this grace we lay hold by means of—(*a*) faith (279-280, 2, 148, 162, 164, 219); (*b*) baptism (2, 28, 37, 79, 97 n., 112; *cf.* 115, 127, 129, 166, 214, 228, 284, 285); (*c*) along with good works (*vide supra*, 6) which imply repentance; (*d*) and nourish it by the Eucharist (63, 64, 126, 286), and are thereby
10. Justified and sanctified (281, 282, 162, 163, 166, 169, 208, 213, 215, 223, 225, etc.).
11. Thus we form the *Church*, that is his body, temple, and spouse (29, 117, 118, 121, 127, 212, 213, 222, 226, 227-229, 282).
12. We are inhabited by his *Holy Spirit* (237, 55, 117, 118, 121, 126, 131, 133, 151, 152, 164, 168, 169, 208, 224, 227, 283, 284, etc.) and are
13. Co-heirs of his resurrection, so that at the last day we shall be glorified with him, body and soul, and enjoy the beatific Vision (2, 3, 4, 87, 96-99, 100-103, 128, 129-130, 132, 133, 166, 169, 203, 213, 217, 225, 288, 289).

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